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ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

TWENTIETH SESSION

BHUBANESHWAR

October 1959

Vol. II Part II

Papers of the Sections

Edited by

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., Ph.D.

President, Twentyfirst Session, A.I.O.C.

Published by

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BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA-4

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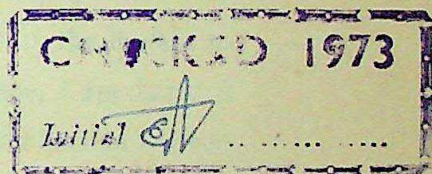
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PREFACE

Volume II, Part ii, of the Proceedings of the XXth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Bhubaneshwar, now issued, comprises the three Sections, Iranian, Islamic Culture, and Arabic and Persian, for whose printing, as explained in the Preface to Vol. II, Pt. i, separate arrangements had to be made. I am thankful to Prof. J. C. Tarapore, Bombay, President of the Iranian Section of the Bhubaneshwar Session, for making arrangements to have the Iranian Section papers printed in Bombay, and to Sri Dorab H. Kanga for undertaking to print them. The two other Sections were printed at The Nuri Press, Madras, and thanks are due to Sri Muhammad Yousuf Kokan, Reader in Arabic, Persian, and Urdu University of Madras, for help in the printing of these two Sections.

Madras,
28th Oct. 1961

V. RAGHAVAN
President,
21st Session of the AIOC

CONTENTS

A

SECTION II: IRANIAN

President : Prof. J. C. TARAPORE

BOMBAY

1. How the Avesta letter *th*, Sanskrit *tha*, Gr. *theta*, is transmitted in Pahlavi and Persian languages (in whose alphabet *th* (*tha*), Gr. *theta* does not exist) into ṭ, h, ç .

   D. D. Kapadia

2. Iranian Notes

   J. M. Unvala

3. Interpretation of some Pahlavi and Pāzand words and passages

   E. M. F. Kanga

4. On the origin and tradition of the Avestan Ye*n*hē-hātam prayer

   Hanns-Peter Schmidt

HOW THE AVESTA LETTER 𐬚, SANSKRIT थ, GR. θ (THETA), IS TRANSMITTED IN PAHLAVI AND PERSIAN LANGUAGES (IN WHOSE ALPHABET 𐬚 (थ), GR. θ DOES NOT EXIST), INTO ط, ـه, ـس.

By D. D. Kapadia, Poona

It is a well-known fact that the letter Av. 𐬚, Sk. थ, Gr. θ does not occur in the Alphabets of Pahlavi and Persian Languages, and they do not have any word containing this letter. It also occasionally happens that a particular Avesta word is bodily transmitted into the later Iranian Languages, (as may be seen by examples quoted hereunder), and during this process whenever an Avesta word happens to contain the letter 𐬚 (th) थ, Gr. θ, it can be easily noticed that it is substituted by ط (ṭ), ـه (h), or ـس (ç).

During the course of my study of Iranian Languages, it was a matter of great profit and pleasure to me to note how we can gather words in which the Avesta letter 𐬚 (th) has been replaced by ط (ṭ), ـه (h) or ـس (ç), and it is my humble privilege by this note to bring them to the notice of my friends. I have prepared sketchy lists of these three groups of words, to which, I have not the least hesitation to admit, that many more words of these types can be added by my friends similarly at work. A host of Avesta words contain the letter 𐬚, (th), थ, θ, but they are not all bodily transmitted into the later Iranian languages. This short note pertains to those Avesta words which happen to be so transmitted into the later languages. Lists attached herewith speak for themselves and no further commentary is necessary.

The lists are as under:—

The list of words in which, the Avesta letter 𐬚, Sans. थ,

Gr. θ, Eng. *th* has been replaced by (ṭ) in Pahlavi, Pazend and Persian:—

Av.	Pahl.
(âθra)	(âṭar)
(miθra)	(miṭra)
(iθra)	(aeṭar)
(aθa)	(aêtûn)
(Zarathuštra)	(Zarṭôšt)
(khraθwa)	(khraṭ)
(Raθaeštâr)	(arṭîshtar)
(bareθra)	(barṭâr)
(θraetaona)	(traeton)
(θwaesha)	(ṭbisht)
(θwaxsh)	(ṭwaxshak)
(θwêrés)	(ṭarâsh)
(θwêrêstâr)	(ṭarâshitâr)
(θwêrêsata)	(ṭarâshitak)
(χshaθra)	(shaeṭa)
(sâsθra)	(sâsṭar)
(arâθni)	(aerṭan)
(yâθwa)	(yâtûk)
(gaeθâ)	(gêṭâ)
(friθa)	(friṭ) म्रित

List of words in which Avesta letter, Sans. थ, Gr. θ, Eng. *th*, has been replaced by (h) in Pahlavi, Pazend and Persian:—

Av.	Pahl.	Per.	Sk.
(chiθra)	(chahar)	چهر	चित्र
(miθra)	(mahar)	مهر	
(gûθa)	(guh)	گوه	
(snaθ)	(snah)		

Av.	Pahl.	Per.
(paθana)	(pâhan)	پهن
(fraθangh)	(fraha)	فره
(piθwa)	(pihwa)	
(chaθware)	(chehar)	چهار
(zaoθra)	(zohar)	
(daθ)	(deh)	ده
(tanu-pêrêθa)	(tanapohl)	تنافور
(barôiθrô)	(burhak)	براه

List of words in which the Avesta letter 𐬚, Sans. थ, Gr. θ, Eng. *th* is substituted by the letter (ç) in Pahlavi, Pazend and Persian :—

Av.	Pahl.
(âθravan)	(âsravan)
(θanvar)	(sanvar)
(θam)	(sam)
(θrita)	(srît)
(θritî)	(srîtak)
(miθnâiti)	(masinêt)
(maeθana)	(masân)
(zaoθra)	(zôsar)
(hâθra)	(hâsar)
(shôiθra)	(shôisar)
(θraota)	(srôt)
(kh^vâθakhta)	(kh^vasakht)
rt. (θrâ)	(srâ)
(θrâiti)	(srâyeshn)
(θrâtar)	(srâyînitar)
(θrâtôtema)	(srâyashntum)
(θrâzdûm)	(srayishn-dahet)
(dôiθra)	(dôisar) eye

Av.	Pahl.
(dâθra)	(dâsar) gift
(dâθra)	(dahishn) creation
(yaozdâθra)	(yoshdâsar) a type of Priest
(θwâsha)	(swâs) sky
(mãθra)	(mânsar) incantation
(puθra)	(pusar) son
(gâθâ)	(gâsân) gathas
(rapiθwin)	(rapîswîn) 2nd gâh
(aghraeraθa)	(agra-ras) Aghraras
(θrishvat)	(srishvatak) one-third
(θrâyôidyai)	(srâyishn dahêt) nurtures
,, ,,	(se-rin) thirdly
(aiwi-srûθrîma)	(ayib-srûsrîm) 4th Gâh
(θrishâ-mrûta)	(srishâmrût) thrice-repeated

IRANIAN NOTES

By

Dr. J. M. Unvala

Vd. 1. 4. Pahlavi commentary:

Ten months there are (of) winter, two months of summer. [and afterwards even seven are summer months, five of winter – it is well known]. There are also cold (frozen) water, cold (frozen) earth, cold (frozen) trees. [Those ten months – there is some one who calls those two months – there there is the middle of winter, there there is the heart of winter – (during those two months). Even now it is the month Vohuman and it is the month Šahrivar, (in) which is the heart of winter, i.e. it is the severest; know that also with (them) all (months) are severe; and then even at that time it becomes severe]. Then (when) winter falls (i.e. passes away) then there are many calamities [i.e. with the adversary – winter all (calamities) pass away. There is some one who says there is nothing which comes in thereby].

The last two months, the 11th and the 12th months of the year are said to be the months of the heart of winter, especially the 11th month which is the month Bahman, when the New Year would fall in the month Farvardīn, and which is the month Šahrivar, when the New Year would fall in the month Ābān. It seems that the commentator was aware of the intercalation of one month. The New Year was most certainly reckoned by him on the 21st of March, as actually at present in Iran the month of January is the month of the severest cold.

Vd. 1. 11 has [Pahlavi] which should be corrected to [Pahlavi] *Maišān* or better *Mēšān*, the country of the *Shaṭṭ* al-'Arāb'.

It occurs in Turfan fragment, Müller, II, p. 83 as *Mēšūm*, and on a seal of the Berlin Museum of Bāfarrak who calls himself Magupat of [Pahlavi] *Mēšūm* (*Herzfeld*, Paikuli, I. p. 215); Arab. میشان, Gr. Μεσήνη and Μεσσήνη.

Vd. 1. 18: [Pahlavi] *varan i 4-gōš*, i.e. "four-cornered Gilan". It is glossed by [Pahlavi] (for [Pahlavi]) *patašx^{v}ārgar dailam, hast kē dailamān gōwēt*, and further below [Pahlavi] *anēric dahān apar-mānišnīh kē patašx^{v}ārgar gōwēt dailamīk kē dailamān gōwēt bāric?* Patašx^{v}ārgar is the mountainous region south of the Caspian Sea, comprising the provinces of Gilam, later called Dailam (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I. 896; Kapadia, *Glossary of the Vandidād*, p. 501). Dailam is Δελυμαῖς of Ptolemy.

Vd. 19. 23: [Pahlavi] *aδak vohuman martom bē nihēt pa ān afzār brēhēnīt rōšnīh* "then Vohuman (man) should place (expose his clothes) to the light created by (some) resource". IM has *bē x^{v}ānišn* (idg.), other mss. have *bē x^{v}ānēt* (idg.), HJD has in the text ([Pahlavi]) [Pahlavi]. This confusion is caused by [Pahlavi] of [Pahlavi] having been dropped in the original of IM and other mss. Anklesaria translates correctly "thou shalt lay down", better "you should put (expose)", but in the transcription he leaves out [Pahlavi] (sic. for [Pahlavi]).

Names of metals and semi-precious stones in Iranian languages.

Gold – Gold was known in Iran as early as in the fourth millennium B. C. It was extracted from porphyry and from

quartz by crushing these stones It was also found in some river-beds in granules, often with the natural mixing with silver as electrum called in Gr. λευκος χρυσος or "white gold". Two colours of gold are well known, red and yellow. Red gold was much prised. In the Achaemenian times, it was brought to Iran from Sardes in Lydia and from Bactria (Darius Susa Inscription, ll. 35–36).

Assyr. *khurāsu*, Gr. χρυσος; Lat. *aurum;* Av. *zaranya-*, AP. *daranya-*, Skr. *hiraṇya-*, MidP. *zar*, ModP. *zar;* adj. MidP. *zarrēn;* cf Guj. *jarī* "golden thread"; Pahl. ideogr. ZHB', Aram. זְהַבָא *zahbā*, Pahl. ideogr. DHB', Biblical Aram. דַּהֲבָא *dahbā*, Arab. ذهب.

Cf. Arab. LW. زرنيق *zarnīq*, زرنيخ *zarnīkh*, Syr. Talm. זַרְנִיך *zarnīk* "arsenic"; Arm. *zarik* "auripigment, arsenic" (AGr. 149), ModP. and Arab. طلا *ṭalā* for ModP. تله *tila* "red gold, drawn gold" (Steingass).

Silver – Silver was mined in Babylonian times probably somewhere to the north of Assyria. It was brought to Iran in Achaemenian times from Egypt (Dar. Susa. ll. 40–41). It was extracted also from some ores, supposedly from litharge.

Assyr. *kaspu*, Aram. כַּסְפָּא *kaspā*, Pahl. ideogr. *KSP'*, MidP. *āsīm*, ModP. سيم *sīm;* adj. MidP. *āsīmēn;* Av. *ərəjata-*, AP. *ardata-*, Skr. *rajata-*, Arm. *arcat* '(Wb. 352)'; ModP. and Arab. نقره *noqra*, *nuqra*.

Copper – Copper was originally mined in Cyprus, hence in Gr. κυπρος i.e. "Cyprus".

AP. *asā-* fem. "metal", copper ? It was called, according to Scheil (p. 30), in AP. *asā* perhaps from the Ancient Egyptian name for Cyprus '*Asiy;* MidP. *rōδ* روی, adj. *rōδēn*, Av. *raoδita-* "reddish", Paz. *rōy*, *rōyīn*, properly speaking

"copper" "of copper", but Anklesaria translates it by "brass"; ModP. روئین "brazen"; for the meaning comp. Skr. ताम्रं "copper", ताम्र adj. "made of copper; of a coppery red colour", "red"; and Skr. ताम्राश्मन्, called also पद्मराग "a kind of red jewel; ruby", and Guj. તામરે "garnet", so called because of its red colour; ModP. مس *mes;* MidP. *berenǰ,* adj. *berenǰēn,* "bronze", "of bronze, brazen", according to Anklesaria "of copper"; Arm. *pl̄inj* (AGr. 231) comp. Av. *paro-bərəǰya-* adj.? (*Altiranisches Wörterbuch,* 859), "tin mixed with brass or copper" *(Kanga),* ModP. پرنگ *piring,* Pers. and Arab. برنج *beranj, birinj,* adj. برنجین *beranjīn* "brazen, made of copper" *(Steingass);* "copper"; copper-money; also brass; aes cyprium; aurichalcum" *(Vullers);* Arab. نحاس *nuḥas,* صفر *ṣifr.*

Brass – MidP. *berenǰ,* adj. *berenǰēn;* Arm. *pinj,* also Arm. *aroir* (AGr. 111); MidP. *rōδ, rōγ*, *rōδēn.*

Bronze – See brass; Arab. مفرغ *mufragh* "cast in metal" used for alloy.

Lead – MidP. *arčīč,* adj. *arčīčēn;* Arm. (black) *arčič;* (AGr. 111). ModP. ارزیز *arzīz;* Av. *srva-* n. (*Wb.* 1649), MidP. *srūp,* ModP. سرب *sorb;* Arab. رصاص *raṣāṣ.*

Tin (stannum) – MidP. *arčīč?,* Arm. (white) *arčič,* ModP. ارزیز *arzīz,* ارزیر *arzīr.*

Note: The words for brass, bronze, and copper, and those for tin and lead are not definitely fixed in Modern Persian and its dialects. They are, therefore, used indifferently one for the other as in Middle Persian or Pahlavi. In MidP. *rōδ* and *rōy* mean properly speaking "copper" and MidP. *berenǰ* means "bronze", still some scholars translate *rōδ* and *rōy* by "bronze" and *berenǰ* by "copper".

Iron – Av. *ayah-* n., Skr. *ayas-* n.; MidP. [Pahlavi] *āsēn*, adj. [Pahlavi] *āsēnēn*, ModP. *āhan* آهن.

Note : Av. *ayah* "metal", "iron", metal *par excellence* (*Wb.* 159), Skr. *ayas-* is "iron" according to Grassmann. He says that only in two exceptional cases it seems to be used for "bronze" (*Wörterbuch zum Rigveda).* Av. *ayah-* is used in the Gāthās particularly for the burning flow of metal through which the departed ones have to pass at the last judgment (Y. *51*.9). In that context it is accompanied by the words *x^vaēna-* "burning hot, red hot" (Y. *32*.7), (*Wb.* 1860), and *xšusta-* "flowing", "molten" used of metal (*Wb.* 555); MidP. [Pahlavi] *ayōkšust*, Paz. *ayōkšust* "metal".

Steel – MidP. [Pahlavi] *pūlāft*, Arm. *polovat* (AGr. 231), ModP. پولاد *pūlād*, Arab. فولاد *fūlād*.

Agate ? (dark) – MidP. [Pahlavi] *šapak*, also written [Pahlavi], ModP. شب *sab* "a black and shining stone, soft and light like amber" (Vullers).

Agate ? (white) – MidP. [Pahlavi] *vafrēnak*, [Pahlavi] *vafrēn*.

Amber – MidP. [Pahlavi], [Pahlavi] *kahrupāk*, ModP. کاربا *kāhrobā*, کهربا *kahrobā*.

Bezoar – MidP. [Pahlavi] *pātzahr*, ModP. *pādzahr* پادزهر, پازهر *pāzahr*. (NpEt. 273), literally antidote against poison.

Carnelian – AP. *sinkabru*, Babyl. *ṣirgaru* "serpentine" (Scheil, p. 29) *kāsaka hya sinkabruš* (Kent 209).

Coral – MidP. [Pahlavi] *xrūhak*, ModP. خروهک *xrūhak*; MidP. [Pahlavi] *basatak* (written *plene*), or *busatak*, ModP. بسد, بسد *bussad* or *busad* "red coral"; Arab. مرجان *marjān*.

Crystal – MidP. *āpgīnak* (Vd. 3.40; Vd. 7.75, commentary), "glass, mirror" (Kapadia, 285). Arm. *apaki* (AGr. 103), ModP. آبگینه *ābgīna* "the most transparent glass" (Steingass), "glass, crystal" (Vullers); MidP. *bulūr*, ModP. بلور *bulūr* "transparent glass, crystal" (Vullers).

Diamond – MidP. *almās*, ModP. الماس *almās*.

Ebony – AP. *asā dāruv* literally "stone-wood" (Kent 190); for *asā* see above *Copper*, and AP. *dāruva-* subst. masc. "a metal", perhaps "bronze", Skr. *dāru-* "bronze" (P.W.) (Unvala, 38-39); MidP. *āpnūs*, ModP. آبنوس *ābnūs*, from Heb. הָבְנִים *hābnīs* "ligna ebena", Gr. εβενος, Egypt. *hbnj* BSOAS, *10.*); Heb. אַבְנִים *ābnīs*, from אֶבֶן, *obĕn*, *ĕbĕn* "stone", thus properly speaking "wood like stone" (Vullers).

Emerald – MidP. *uzmurut*. Arm. *zmruxt* = **zumuruxt* (AGr. 151), Gr. σμάραγδος, ModP. زمرد *zamarrud*. It is described as a stone, dark green (lit. green and black) in colour, on the sight of which a serpent becomes blind. (Vullers).

Gem – AP. *kāsaka-*, subst. masc., Anz. *qasiqa-*, Babyl. *abnu*, *aban* "stone". It seems to be a generic name for (precious) stones; MidP. *gōhr*, ModP. *gauhar* گوهر, Arab. جوهر *jauhar*. Arm. *gohar* (AGr. 128); Pahl. ideogr. *KYPH* = *kaifā* "stone, gem-stone" (FrP. *16*.1), Aram. כֵּפָא *kēfā*; MidP.* *dahānak*, Arm. *dahanak* "gem-stone". (AGr. 135), ModP. دهانه *dahāna*, Arab. دهنج *dahanaj* "stone resembling emerald; malachite", Syr. דהנך *dahanak* (Vullers).

Hyacinth – MidP. *yākand*, ModP. یاکند "a precious stone, also called یاقوت *yāqūt*". The latter is described as "a precious stone of red, yellow, and blue colours", i.e. "ruby" or "sapphire" (Vullers).

Haematite – It was widely employed since very ancient times for seals, cylinder-seals, and jewellers' and goldsmiths' weights. It is dark coloured, sometimes with reddish tinge, and it can be highly polished. For further details see *Turquoise*.

Ivory – AP. *piru* (Kent 197), Amz. and Babyl. *piru*; Skr. LW. *pīlu;* MidP. پل *pīl*, ModP. *pil*, Arab. *fīl* "elephant".

Lapis lazuli – AP. *Kaputka-* "dark blue", AmzLw. *qabautka-*, Babyl. *uknu* "lapis lazuli" - *kasaka hya kapautaka* (Kent 178); Arm. *kapoit*, *kaputak* "dark blue" (used of hyacinth), (AGr. 166); Skr. *kapota-* "dove" ModP. کبود *kabūd* "blue, dark blue"; MidP. *lāčvart*, ModP. لاجورد *lājward*, and لازورد *lāzhward*.

Malachite – See *Gem*.

Marcasite – MidP. *margašīšāk*, Arm. *margasisay* (AGr. 193). ModP. مرقشیشا *marqašīšā* (Steingass and Vullers) Assyr. *markhašī*, Syr. *markašīthā*. It is a variety of pyrite.

Pearl – MidP. *murvārīt*, ModP. مروارید *murvārīd*, Gr. μαργαρίτης.

Sal amoniac – MidP. *anōšātur*, Arm. *anušadr* (AGr. 100), ModP. نوشادر *naušādur*.

Stone – AP. *aϑanga-* (Wb. 64), Av. *asənga-* (Wb. 210), MidP. *sa*^{n}*g;* adj. AP. *aϑangaina-*, MidP. *sangēn*, ModP. سنگ *sang*, adj. سنگین *sangīn*.

Turquoise – AP. *axšaina-* literally "not shining" hence "dark-coloured" (Kent 165) – *kāsaka hya axšaina;* Babyl. and Anz. KA-GI-NA read *mukinu* "which confirms the word", i.e. "the seal", which was often made of haematite; Cf. Av. *axšaēna-* (Wb. 51), MidP. *xsēn*, ModP. خشین *xašīn*

"dark coloured: opaque" (Gr. Jr. Ph. I. 66); MidP. *pērōčak;* ModP. پیروزه *pīrūza,* Arab. فیروزه *fīrūza.*

Bead – MidP. *mudr,* *muharak,* originally "a seal", then a bead made of seal-stones, ModP. مهره *muhra.* The beads are said to be of different colours or rather made of different coloured stones, viz. MidP. *sapz.* ModP. سبز *sabz* "green", MidP. *zarrēn i barkzad.* ModP. زرین برقزد *zarīn e barqzad* "shining golden", MidP. *siyāk.* ModP. سیاه *siyāh* "black, dark coloured", MidP. *spēt,* ModP سفید *safīd* "white", MidP. *zart,* ModP. زرد *zard* "yellow", MidP. *suxr.* ModP. سرخ *surx* "red", MidP. *xšēn,* ModP. خشین *xašīn* "dark coloured", and MidP. *āsnāngōn,* ModP. آسمانگون *āsmān-gūn,* "cerulean, blue" (The Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the *Dātistān i Dēnīk,* edited by B. N. Dhabhar, LXIV, p. 202–206).

INTERPRETATION OF SOME PAHLAVI AND PĀZAND WORDS AND PASSAGES

By

E. M. F. Kanga, Bombay

In this paper for the Conference I have selected the following words and passages from Pahlavi and Pāzand texts, which have not been properly explained by scholars in the field of Iranian studies. They are as under:—

(i) [Pahlavi script] VYYTARYH *vistārīh*.

(ii) Dēnkart Book V. Sec. I. DKM. p. 433, l. 2–17.

(iii) Pāz. [Pāzand script] *pairi*.

(iv) Pāz. *gōyā* [Pāzand script].

(v) *čča*.

I. Prof. Henning in his paper on 'A Pahlavi Poem' published in BSOAS, 1950 XIII/3 pp. 647–648 remarks that the passage of the Pahlavi Text *Handarž i Dēnākān Ō Mazdyasnān* sec. 17–20 (Pahl. Texts ed. by Jamaspasana p. 54) is conspicuous by its curious, plainly poetic diction and that the rhyme goes through the whole poem in the manner of a *Qasīde*. In this passage the word *vistār* occurs which he reads *wastār* and translates "pledged" or "self abandoned" but no etymology is given. He transcribes and translates the quotation thus:

Harw kē čūn ēn dīd–čē rāy ka wastār andar gēhān

ka nē dārēd gētī pad Spanǰ ud [nē] tan pad āsān.

"Anyone, when he has seen that-what use if he remains pledged to the world? if he fails to consider the earthly existence as inn, the body a facile thing?"

The word *vistār* and *vistārīh* occurs in the Pahlavi texts quoted below as far as I can gather:

(1) *Handarž i Dānākān Ō Mazdayasnān* sec. 20 (Pahl. Texts p. 54). *har kē čēγōn ēn dīt čē rāδ ka vistār andar gēhān ka nē dārēt gētēy pat aspanǰ ut tan pat āsān.*— Every one has seen (such things) as these–why should he be reliant (on any prosperity) in the world, why should he not consider this material world as a place of temporary shelter and oneself as a place of repose? Herzfeld (Zoroaster and His World I. p. 236) reads *āsān* as ast *('stn* < *'s'nn)* and translates the quotation "*gētīh pa spinǰ dār ut tan pat ast*" by "regard the world as a hostel and the body as an inn." Here in this passage we find the word used in the sense of *vistāx*ᵛ-reliant, proud arrogant.

(2) *Handarž i Xusrav i Kavātān* sec. 6 (Pahl. Texts, p. 56): *pat dahišn i driγōšān spōž ut visārīh ma kunēt bē nikīrēt ku čēγōn apār bavēt x*ᵛ*atāδīh ut x*ᵛ*āstak bē šavēt hēr i staβr ut dōšārm ut dūš-x*ᵛ*ārīh ut driγōšīh bē vitīrēt*— do not exercise evasion and extravagance in the gifts of the poor but observe that when sovereignty and wealth are lost, mighty wealth and affection will disappear and turn into discomfort and poverty. Here the word stands for extravagance, profligacy and dissipation.

(3) *Handarž i Āturpāt Mahraspandān*, sec. 4 and 70 (Pahl. Text p. 56 and p. 63):

*pat x*ᵛ*atāy ut sardār mart vistār ut vistāx*ᵛ*ma bavēh.*— do not be unreliable and confident with the King and the Chief.

pat har kas ⟨*ut*⟩ *har čiš vistār ut vistāx*ᵛ *ma bavēh.*— do not be unreliant and confident with every person and with everything.

Here the words *vistār* and *vistāx*^{v} are employed as contrast *vistāx*^{v} means "reliant, confident, haughty". Whereas *vistār* means " having lack of confidence, arrogant, distrustful".

(4) *Yātkār i Vazurg mihr* sec. 99–100 (Pahl. Texts p. 93): *tarskāsīh ka-š vistārīh nēst.*—devotion or reverence where there is no distrust.

(5) *Apart Pat mānak i Katak-X*^{v}*atāyīh.* sec. 7 (Pahl. Texts p. 143) *har ka Vahmān aivāp kas hač Vahmān yātak rāδ x*^{v}*āstārīh kūnēt apē-bahānak-īhā aβiš apaspārom ut patiš spōž ut vistārīh nē kūnom* —whenever (she the said) so and so or some one on behalf of (her the said) so-and-so claims it, I will entrust it to that person without any excuse and I will not practise evasion and distrust thereon.

(6) DKM 550.1. (Sanjana Dkt. Vol. XII p. 41 sec. 14): *vistāx*^{v}*īh vēhīh api-š vistārīh pētiyārak*—pride or sense of self-respect is a virtue and its opposite is lack of confidence. Here Dastur Darab Sanjana translates the word by "shamefulness".

(7) DKM. 586. 21–22. (Sanjana Dkt. Vol. XIII. p. 27 sec. 43.): *ēt rāδ čē vistāx*^{v}*īh vistārīh ut vistār-kūnišnih* and for this reason because haughtiness is due to lack of confidence and inconstancy. Here Sanjana compares *vistārīh* with NPers. *bistār*, weak, inconstant and translates "weak-mindedness".

(8) *Nāmakīhā i Manuščihr.* Epistle II. Ch. VI. Sec. 3. ed. by Dhabhar: *hakar pargast hač šmāk aivāp hān kas hamīstārīh i ham-dēn vistārīh ut visōβtārīh i dāt pēšak, vēnom patīrak-ēstišn ut hamistārīh ōγōn ōstīkān kūnom čēγōn-m zrēh ērtanīh ut γāmēnītārīh i Ehrpat x*^{v}*atāy kart*—

if perhaps I see from you or another person the opposition to this religion, the dissipation and disintegration of the law and the profession, I consider it so established to stand against and to oppose it, just as I have done good devotion and delectation of you, O Ēhrpat Lord. Here variant is کستاریه *kastārīh*, meaning "decrease". The word *vistārīh* here means 'waste'.

From the above references it will be seen that the word in question can be derived from inf. *vi-startan*, Av. *vi-star-* "to scatter" and that it is known to mean (i) lack of confidence, antonym of *vistāx*ᵛ*īh* (ii) dissipation, extravagance, waste. Ervad Bharucha (Pand Nāmak i Āturpāt Mahrspandān p. 116) derives it from *vi*, "without" plus *ōstōβār*, trust, confidence and translates "unenduring, unreliable". Henning's meaning "pledged" will not be applicable to all the references quoted above as can be seen from the translations given by me.

II Dēnkart Book V. (5) Para 1. ll. 2–17 and BNYK SRĀSR.

This word or name is found to occur in the first para of Dēnkart Book V (DkM. 433. 10-11; Dkt. ed. Sanjana Vol. IX p. 476).[1] Menasce in his Škand Gumānīk Vičār Ch. XIV, p. 196 reads the Pāz. *Asarāsarą* as *Isrāyilān* and this reading has led me to read the word occuring Book V as *Isrāyēl*. I owe this suggestion to Menasce, ŠGV. This passage is rather difficult and I give below my transcription and translation of this para for what it is worth:—

*Pančōm apar gōβišn i hufravart Ātur Franabaγ i Farrox*ᵛ*-zātān, hu-dēnān pēšōpāδ but, pat-ič nipīk i* <u>*Gēmārā*</u>

1. Cf. Dr. West's translation, in S.B.E. Vol. XLVII pp. 119-121; and Dr. Peshotan Sanjana's translation, in Dēnkart Vol. IX pp. 573-574; 611-612.

x^vānīhēt. Hangartīk passox^v i Ātur-Franabaγ i Farrox^v-zātān hu-dēnān pēšōpāδ apar nīšānakīk pūrsišn ēčand i yākup i Hālidān i čēγōn-š gūft, ōstīk nāf i hamist ramān yi-šān Dēlmā-č x^vānand, kē-šān ham pa⟨t⟩vandīk frāč aβiš rasišnīk apar sardār ēr-tōxmak kē šūt, yi-šān niyākān pat sipāh-sardārīh ham-dōstīk ut sipāhīkīh, i ān ram andar spāh-patīh i Bōxt-Narsēh i apar akāvēnītan i apārōn-dātīh, vat-kunīšnīh i Banīk Isrāyel ut girān dev-yazakīh ut zīyan i apišān pat frestīt⟨an⟩ i dēhupat Kay Lōhrāsp hač Ērān-šahr apāk Bōxt-Narsēh ō Hrōm maqadas, ut ān kōstīk mēnišn ut hu-dēn virravišn pat drōštak ([illegible]) mātīkān dēnīk rastak pat ramīkān ham-ōskārakīh dēn-ākāsīh grōštak-ē ut dit rāδēnišnīhā nisang ([illegible] NSNG) žamānīk x^vāstār pas hač vas āni patkārišnīk ōškārišnīk čim-vičōδišnīk pursišn ut passōx^v ram hāvišt visāndak x^vāδišnīhā passačak.

Translation:

The Fifth book is about the sayings of the saintly Atur-Franabaγ[1], son of Farroxᵛ-zāt (who) was the leader of the faithful and it is known as the book of Gēmārā[2]. The collected replies of Ātur-Franabaγ, son of Farroxᵛ-zāt, the leader of the faithful, about several symbolical questions of

1. **Ātur Franabay** was the son of Farrox^v—zāt, and was the leader of the faithful of Iran. about 815-835 A.C. He was the first compiler of the Dēnkart, probably of its first two books, which are lost and of selections from various religious treatises as found in Dēnkart Books IV and V. He had a religious disputation with the *Gajastak Abālīš* in the presence of the Khalifah Al-Māmūn (813-833 A.C.) as detailed in the *Mātīkān i Gajastak Abālīš*.

2. **Gēmārā**: The Talmud is the book of Jewish Civil and Canonical law not comprised in the Pentateuch. It consists of two parts: the Mishna or the laws written in Hebrew containing the traditions of the Jews and interpretations of the Scriptures supposed to have been compiled in the latter part of the second or in the earlier part of the third century; and the Gemara or Commentary on the law, written in Aramaic, into which crept many anecdotes, proverbs, legends

Yākūp of Hālidān[3] as spoken by him (and about) the confident utterance of the entire congregation who call it their Gēmārā (ﮔﻤﺎﺭﺍ)[2], who are co-related and accessible to him. About the leader of Iranian descent who went and whose fore-fathers in the mutually-friendly Command of the Army and the soldiership of that congregation under the chieftainship of the Army of Bōxt-Narsīh[4] in order to render ineffective the impious law and wicked actions of Benē Israyal[5] and the heinous dēv-worship and their mischief by sending King Kay Lōhrāsp[6] from the Country of Ērān with Bōxt-Narsīh to Jerusalem[7] (Hrōm Moqadas) and its boundary. The thought and faith of the Good Religion amongst the believers, specially religious custom in the mutual deliberation and religious knowledge of the believers of the congregation and other organizations of the seekers of the transient period[8] after many controversial doctrinal and probing questions and answers suitable to the separate inquiries of a band of disciple.

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and some history, so that it might be called a cyclopedia of rabbinical knowledge. DkM. 433.3,6; 439.3.

3. **Yākup i Hālidān,** a proper name. West reads differently and translates "the wonder of the moderns". Dastur Peshotan Sanjana reads "*šəkōfə ahlyānī*". See DkM. 454.21: *yākūp nun dōstak čašm, api-š dēnākāsīh ārzōktar.* Text gives YAKN PWN. [illegible]

4. **Bōxt Narsīh:** Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon, invaded Jerusalem during his time.

5. **Benē Isrāyel:** Israelites, Jews. Cf. Menasce, ŠGV. XIV. 19, 20, 30 where Pāz. word *Asarāsarą* is given. Compare Manichaen, ɪr'yl and Sogd 'ysryl. Skt. Version असरासरेषु ŠGV by Jamasp-Asana and West. p. 143.

6. **Lōhrāsp** - father of Vištāsp; Av. *Aurvat- aspa-*

7. **Hrōm i moqadas.**

8. **Nisang:** Spelling of this word is given differently in different places in the Dēnkart. This word means (i) a little, (ii) chapter; (iii) period. Here the word means period, *nisang žamānīk*. For further details See my forthcoming book "*Čītak Handarž i Pōryōtkēšān*" and *Zaener, Zurvān* p. 372 notes.

III Pāzand Pairi پیری

This word occurs in the *Āfrīn i Artāk fravaxš*, *Āfrīn i Gāhānbār* and *Dibāčā i Āfrīnagān*. Ervad Phiroze Masani was the first man to edit and to translate these *Āfrīns* into Gujarati in his Pāzand Series No. 1. Ervad E. K. Antia has collected and collated all the Pāzand Texts in his book published by the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet, Bombay, in 19 9. On p. 83 of this book we find the word پیری *pairi* (l. 21) and p. 92. l. 6. پری *piri*. The quotation is as under:
har ki awar in zamīn pairi bihidīnī gudāra šūt hast;
har ki awar in zāmīn piri bihidīnī gudāran šut hast.
meaning: every one who has passed away from this earth with good conduct and good religiousness.

Ervad Masani has not understood this word in question and the meaning given by him is therefore incorrect. The word as it stands is composed of *pa-* ideog. PWN پ, prep. to, by, from, according to, in, on, with, among, and *iri*, Mid. Pers. ایریه *ērīh*, abst. noun from *ēr-*, noble, aryan; meaning: "nobility, good conduct, chivalry, aryanism". This word is very common and occurs frequently in the Pahlavi Texts and hence needs no references. The word *bihidīnī*, Mid. Pers. وه دینه *vēh-dēnīh*, means good religiousness, fidelity as opposed to *ay-dēnih*, irreligion, infidelity. In 1954, a book of *Āfrīnagāns* and *Āfrīns* etc. has been published by M/s. Karani & Sons, Bombay, wherein this word under consideration has been written in Gujarati "*pairi*" (pp. 349 and 368) and "*perī*" pp. 21, 35, 50, 66, 92, 119, 143, 159, 176, 209, 318, 339, 428, 523, 580, 600, 622, 639. I may suggest that proper attention and care has not been paid on these Pāzand Texts wherein many wrong readings have been crept in and many ideograms or non-Iranian words have been allowed to

remain as ideograms or non-Iranian words have no place at all in the Pāzand Texts. I request the perusal of "*Sitāyišn i sīh rōč*" edited and translated by Ervad Masani in Pāzand Series No. 2, wherein many wrong readings and ideograms are given. I need not quote the instances here as it would extend the size of the paper. Hence an urgent need of revision of these texts is greatly requisite. And this revision should be made on the lines of Messina's *Ayātkār i Žāmāspīk* and Menasce's *Škand Gūmānīk Vičār*.

IV کندک *Kandāk in Āfrīn i Vazūrγān*. Pāz. *guyā*

In the *Āfrīns* ed. by Anklesaria p. 183 we read thus: *nizever bēt čūn Asfendyār dinyāvar* [*guyā*] *bēt čūn Jāmāsp pa dānesh i zič*. Ervad Antia (Pāzand Texts p. 85) omits *guyā* and substitutes *batāš zīč* for *pa dāneš i zīč* of Anklesaria's text. The text runs as under:

nəzahvar bēt čūn Aspəndyār dīn yāvar bēt čūn J̌āmāsp batāš zīč.

Cf. ibid. p. 115, l. 12–13. Ervad Masani (Pāzand Prayers Series No. 1, p. 20) calls this *Āfrīn* by "*Āfrīn bā nāme-buzōrgān* (pp. 18–23) and gives the text as follows: *guyā bēd čūn* "*J̌āmāsp*" *pa dānaše zīč*. From this it will be seen that this sentence is differently given in different editions of the *Āfrīns*. In this sentence we are concerned with the word "*guyā*" which has been incorrectly read so far. This Pāz. word is nothing but the Pahlavi word کندک *kandāk* as can be seen from the quotation in the *Āfrīn i Myazd*: *kandāt čūn Jāmāsp ba dāniš*". (Pāz. Texts ed. by Antia p. 104. ll. 15–16).

We possess the Pahlavi Version of *Āfrīn i Vazūrγān* (ZKA. pp. 220-221) wherein we find *kandāk bēt čeγōn Jāmāsp*

Bitaxš čēr. Had these editors of the Pāzand texts seen this Pahlavi Version, there would not have been difference in the sentence. From the *Āfrīn i Myazd* and Pahlavi Version of *Afrīn i Vazūryān* the correct reading is ascertained and that is *kandāk* and not *guyā*. Ervad Masani translates *guyā* by "speaker" which is not correct. For explanation on the words *pa dānēš* and *bitaxš* see Dhabhar's paper on "*Jāmasp Bitaxš* or *Jamasp Hakīm*" in Prof. Poure Davoud Commemoration Vol. II pp. 57–61.

Prof. Bailey explains this Pahlavi word in the Transactions of the Philological Society, 1955, p. 74 thus: "A further word with the same form but different suffix, is used in *Zor* Pahlavi *kundāk*, NPers. *kandā* "sooth-sayer". Here we have with suffix *-āka-* of permanent activity the word *kunda-* attesting a base *kau-* which is the *kav-* of the well-known *kavi-* of the Rigveda and the Avesta which has also been claimed for the Lydian *Kavης*". Cf. Turfan Mid. Pers. *qnd'yy*, **kndāyī*, magic. Hence the word *kundāk* means "philosopher, a sooth-sayer, learned, wise". The Pahlavi text *Kārnāmak i Artaxšir i Pāpākān* (Antia 16.2) has reference to four kinds of sage: *dānākān ut frazānakān kētān, kandākān*. Messina (*Ayātkār i Žāmāspīk*, p. 8) reads the word *kanday, kandāyīh*. "*scienza magica, occulta*", and compares the word with Pahl. [Pahlavi script] *kētīk*, magic (Henning. BSOS IX. 84).

The word *čēr* no doubt means "valiant, courageous, triumphant, victorious" and is the Pahl. rendering of Av. *ugra- uγra-*, but here it can be read *žir*, av. *jīra-* in the phrase *pouru-jīrō*, meaning "wise" and this meaning would suit the context better. Cf. *Ayātkār i Žamāspīk*, ed. by Messina, Ch. XIII. 3: *kandāyīh u zīrakīh*. The sentence would then mean:





May you be philosopher or sooth-sayer like *Jāmasp Bitaxš*, the Wise! On the basis of this Pahlavi Version, Pāzand texts should be corrected, as this *Āfrīn i Vazurγān* is used almost every day by the priests in *Āfrīnaγān* and "*Ashirvād*" ceremonies and as this text is wrongly recited in case of many words occuring therein. I would accordingly correct the Pāzand sentence *kandāk bet čun Jāmāsp Bitaxš Zīr*. I may state here that the word *zič* may be wrongly written for *zīr* since Pahlavi *Yātkār i Zarīrān* and Jāmāsp Nāmak make no mention of this word in connection with Jāmāsp.

V. ـــږږ čč'

Mr. B. T. Anklesaria (Zand ākāsīh pp. 178–179) reads the word *ččā* as if it is *čāh*, meaning *well* and translates "of the wells". Mr. Kapadia (Glossary of the Pahlavi Vendidād p. 516) takes it to be an ideogram for dālman and translates "eagle" without quoting any reference. This important word has been dealt with by Prof. Henning in J. R. A. S. 1942, p. 233 and by Prof. H. W. Bailey in his monumental work 'Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books", 1943, p. 137. Henning reads it as a corrupt ideogram for '*sang*', stone, taking the word *čč'* as a corrupted form of Aramaic KYP', basing upon GrBd. 29.8, where *ččā- ē katak- masāδ*, equivalent to Av. *asma katō-masā̊*. Cf. Bd. XVII 4: *ān astōdān kartak hač ēvak sang* (written SYG) *ut-aš nihūmbak hač ēvak sang i sūlākōmand tāšītan passāxtan, ut-aš pērāmūn pat* KYPA=*sang ut gač hanbārēnītan*. Bailey compares *ččā* with Aramaic ṢṢA 'nail, peg, wing' and quotes Gr. Bd. 140.1, where the word appears as a name for thunderbolt *(vīr)*. ṢṢA would therefore represent *dār*, *dāl*, wood, hard substance. Hence the confusion in the

Frahāng i Pahlavīk which indentifies *čcā* with *dālman* "eagle". As a matter of fact, in Gr.Bd. 19.13, both the ideogram and Iranian word are quoted together *čč* 'D'L. Bailey quotes instances of this in *Artāy Vīrāz Nāmak* 16.7 and *Dātistān-i Dēnīk* 36.17. We may safely conclude that the word *čcā* represents a word *dār*, *dāl*, meaning 'wood, hard substance'.

GrBd. 19.12: *čēγōn gōβēt ku-š nazdist si ēvak-ē ēn žamīk frāč brēhēnīt saxt čēγōn* <u>*čč'D'L*</u>; *ditīkar si ēvak-ē ēn žamīk frāč brēhēnīt gart-ākand; sitīkar si ēvak-ē ēn žamīk frāč brēhēnīt nīmat-gīlak.*

Zaehner (Zurvān p. 309*)* suggests the reading *aržan ākand*, meaning "composed of sandstone" instead of *gart-ākand* on the basis of MSS. Variant. For the words *nīmat-gilak* he suggests the reading *narm čēγōn gil* [*ak*]. (*Zurvān* p. 283) and translates "as soft as clay".

Cf. GrBd. 29.7: *hač ōyšān stārakān ān i mas čand čč'-ē i katak- masāδ-*. Of the stars the big ones are as large as stones of the magnitude of a house.

Here Mr. Anklesaria wrongly translates the word by "eagle".

GrBd. 140.1: *ēn ātaxš i ōptēt kē ham martōmān vīr x^vānēnd ham čč' hēnd.*= this fire which falls, which men also call lightning is something like hard substance. In short, the word in question means "hard substance, stone" as explained by Zaehner in Zurvān p. 309.

ON THE ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE AVESTAN YEəHĒ-HĀTĀM-PRAYER.

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1. The Avestan prayers, *ahuna vairya*, *ašəm vohū*, *yeəhē hātām*, and *ā airyama išyō*, belong to the most disputed parts of the whole Avesta. Until now no translation of these prayers can be regarded as satisfactory. This is due to the compressed style, in which they are composed, and which makes it difficult to arrive at a clear understanding.

In the following lines an attempt is made to solve some of the problems involved in the interpretation of the *yeəhē-hātām*-prayer. The investigation takes its start from Yasna 51, 22, which is supposed to be the model after which the prayer was composed. The interpretation of the prayer itself is followed by that of the Avestan commentary, the Pahlavi translations, and the summaries in the Dēnkart. It need not be repeated here that the Pahlavi translations are full of grammatical and semantical mistakes and can therefore not be used as a starting point for our own interpretation. As a rule they are interlinear versions, and it is often difficult to decide whether the Pahlavist has misunderstood the construction of the Avestan sentences or whether he has violated the rules of Pahlavi grammar in order to retain the word order of the original. In my opinion, the nature of the Pahlavi renderings compels us to refer constantly to the Avestan original in order to find out whether the Pahlavist was able to translate less ambiguously and awkwardly then he really does. I have tried to ascribe to the Pahlavist as

little mistakes as possible; those which are left are many enough. Quite a few of the clumsy translations in the present study show without doubt that I have not succeeded yet in offering a final solution.

The traditional exegesis of the prayer is of special value since it seems to indicate that the problems and difficulties of the text with which modern interpreters are faced were the same for the ancient interpreters.

I. Yasna 51,22

2. *yehyā mōi aša̅t̰ hacā vahištəm yesnē paitī*
vaēdā mazdå̄ ahurō yōi ā̊ŋharəcā həṇticā
tā yazāi xvāiš nāmə̄nīš pairicā jasāi vantā

"In the worship towards whom (is) according to Truth the best for me, (that) knows the Wise Lord. Who have been and are, them I worship by their own names and circumambulate with prayer."

From the syntactical point of view the strophe is rather ambiguous. Both *yehyā* and *mōi* could be construed either with *vahištəm* or with *yesnē paitī* or with one of the latter; *mōi* could also be combined with *ašāt̰ hacā*: "According to my Truth (i.e. the truth of my teaching)". Without being able to prove this view, I follow LOMMEL's interpretation.[1] We get thus a symmetrical construction of the relative clause: cause and effect, i.e. the worship and the best, encompass in concentric circles their common essence, Truth–worship towards God results in the best for the worshipper because of Truth which is as well the essence of the worship as the guarantee of its success; the devotee's Truth is answered by God's Truth that fulfils the purpose of worship. If this assumption is correct, the underlying idea is

that of a *satyakriyā*, an "act of truth".[2] It can be further corroborated by the reference to the worship by names in the last line–the pronouncing of the true names of persons or things being the oldest form of the *satyakriyā*.[3]

Vaēdā, generally understood as 3, sg. with *mazdå ahurō* as subject, is taken by LOMMEL as 1. sg. with Zarathustra as subject[4]: "In whose worship (lies) according to Truth the best for me, (that) I know: (it is) the Wise Lord (and those) who were and are." To justify his opinion, LOMMEL refers to several Gathic passages, where Zarathustra knows which God and how he is to be venerated.[5] But there are counterexamples, too.[6] Taking the preceding stanzas into consideration the problem seems to be decided against LOMMEL.

3. In 51,19c God, the creator, is asked to tell what the better of life by deeds is (*mazdå dātā marōṯ gayehyā šyaoθanāiš vahyō*), and the reply is given in Zarathustra's words in st. 20–21.

taṯ vә̄ nә̄ hazaošåŋhō vīspåŋhō daidyāi savō
ašәm vohū manaŋhā uxδā yāiš ārmaitiš
yazәmnåŋhō nәmaŋhā mazdå rafәdrәm cagәdō.
ārmatōiš nā spәntō hvō cistī uxδāiš šyaoθanā
daēnā ašәm spәnvaṯ vohū xšaθrәm manaŋhā
mazdå dadāṯ ahurō tә̄m vaŋuhīm yāsā ašīm.

In order to bestow[7] us with this your salvation-power, o all one-willing ones: Truth together with Good Thought, together with which (is) Right Thinking according to the word (of the doctrine), you, being worshipped with reverence, (and) the Wise one (are) granting support.

A man of Right Thinking (is) holy. He, by thought, words, and deed, (his) insight may increase Truth. Through

Good Thought the Wise Lord may give ruling power–for this as good recompense I ask."[8]

The better to be announced by God (19c) is the salvation-power (20a) and the good recompense, consisting in ruling power (21bc). The deeds by which the recompense, is gained consist in Right Thinking, increasing Truth by thought, word, and deed, and in Good Thought. Throughout the Gathas the means of worship are mostly just these deeds.

It is obvious that *vahištəm* in 22a corresponds to *vahyō* in 19c.[9] When Zarathustra says that God knows in whose worship the best for him is, he reassures his hearers that the revelation expressed in 20–22 is genuine since it is God's own knowledge. I should suppose that *mązdā̊ mrot̰* (19c) and *vaēdā mazdā̊ ahurō* (22b) reflect the same idea as *vaocā mōi yā tvəm vīdvā̊ ahurā* (48, 2a) "Tell me what you know, o Lord."

4. The most important problem in 51, 22 is who is meant by those "who have been and are". BARTHOLOMAE[10] as well as modern Parsi scholars[11] are of the opinion that here and in the *yeṇhē-hatām*-prayer holy men are alluded to. LOMMEL however has convincingly demonstrated that the entities later called *Aməša Spəntas* alone are besides God himself the object of worship. This view is not only favoured by the fact that the worship of holy men is unknown in the Gathas but also by the context of the above quoted st. 20, which indeed leaves no room for another interpretation. God's aspects are worshipped with reverence (*yazəmnā̊ŋhō nəmaŋhā*) just as Zarathustra wants to worship and circumambulate those "who have been and are". The objection that in st. 21 a "holy man" is mentioned and

therefore *yehya* should refer to him is ruled out by the correspondence of *tā yazai* with *yazəmnā̊ŋhō* and by the fact that the "holy men" is to strengthen Truth by the virtues which cause proper worship: Right Thinking and Good Thought. Not he himself is worshipped but his virtues which are in fact identical with God's aspects.

5. In the PTr. of Y. 51,22 those "who have been and are" are clearly interpreted as the *Aməša Spəntas*, which agrees with LOMMEL'S result arrived at without consulting the PTr.[12]

'LḤ MNV MN 'hr'yyh 'p'kyh p'hlvm ['YK MN yzd'n ZK p'hlvm] L yzšnv QDM. 'k's 'vhrmzd [mzd V p'tdhšnv] MNV YHVVNt HVḤd V MNVc HVḤd. 'LḤš'n yzvm PVN ZK y NPŠḤ ŠM ['mhrspnd'n hcš'n] QDM YHMTVNm ''vv hdyb'ryh.

ōi kē hac ahrāyīh apākīh pāhlom [kū hac yazdān ān pāhlom] man yazišn apar. ākās ōhrmazd [mizd u pātdahišn] kē būt hand u kē-c hand. ōi-šān yazom pat ān i hvēš nām [amahrspandān hac-šān] apar rasom ō hadyārīh.

"He, whose best (is) because of the company of Truth [i.e. it (is) the best from God] in my worship, (is) Ohrmazd knowing [reward and recompense]. Who have been and are, them I worship by their own names [the Holy Immortals among them] (and) approach for help."[13]

In translating the first line I have adopted the alternative which represents the better understanding of the Avesta on the side of the Pahlavist. *kē* is used also in the sense of oblique cases (cf. SALEMANN, *Middle-Persian Grammar* § 75). The alternative rendering: "He, who (is) because of the company of Truth the best [i.e. the best among the

Yazatas]", would include two grammatical mistakes: "who" instead of "whose" and masc. "the best" instead of neuter. Another reason for which I prefer the interpretation more favourable for the Pahlavist is Neryosengh's Sanskrit translation[14]: *yo me puṇyasaṃśleṣāt utkṛṣṭataram* [*bhuvanaṃ dehi*] *ārādhanām upari*. Although Neryosengh's source does not wholly agree with the PTr. extant, his rendering shows that *pāhlom* is considered as neuter, and we can blame the mistake *yo* on him alone.

The expression "who have been and are" seemed rather general to the Pahlavist, and therefore he specified those who receive worship among all beings as the Holy Immortals. This explanation is probably interrelated with that of *tāscā tåscā yazmaide* in the *yeəhē-hātān*-prayer (v § 10). The alternative reading *'mhrspnd'n 'pš'n = amahrspandān u-šān* for *'mhrspnd'n hcš'n* would imply that the Pahlavist had the interpretation of *hātām* in the PTr. of the Avestan commentary (v. § 11) in mind. Be that as it may, there was a tradition that forced the Pahlavist to provide a place for the worship of the Holy Immortals in this context.

II. The *yeəhe-hātām*-prayer and its Avestan commentary.

6. Y. 27.15 *yeəhē hātām āat̰ yesnē paitī vaŋhō*
mazdå ahurō vaēθā aṣ̌āt̰ hacā
yåŋhāmcā tāscā tåscā yazamaide.

"In the worship towards whose being the Wise Lord knows then because of Truth the better, and (in the worship) towards which (female beings), these (male) and these (female beings) we worship."

Lommel thinks that the prayer is, after all, untranslatable and comprehensible only as come into being through

use, reinterpretation, and misinterpretation of Gathic words.[15] This view is based on the prejudice, shared with scholars like BARTHOLOMAE and GELDNER, that large parts of the later Avesta were compiled by epigones ignorant of grammer. Although that may be true for some of the most recent texts, it is methodically preferable to ascribe a priori the 'mistakes' to our own limited knowledge of the language and to try to understand the text as it is. In many cases we shall find by careful consideration of all the data that the text is correct.[16] Even when a later author utilizes older texts for his compositions and makes changes in syntax and sense, we cannot definitely say that he has misunderstood his source since he may have intended to provide his own ideas with more authority by well-known and sanctified formulas.

LOMMEL[17] sees in *yeǝhē hātąm* a contraction of *yehyā mōi* in 51, 22, incorrectly combined with God alone instead of God and Zarathustra. His translation is: "in the sacrifice to whom among the beings". At the same time however he suspects that *hātąm* reflects *yōi (ə̊ŋharəcā) həṇticā*, which is without doubt correct, but makes the conjecture about *mōi* superfluous - this word is simply dropped. Moreover, LOMMEL misses the counter-part of *yə̊ŋhąm* which should be *yaēšąm*. If we take the relation between *yeǝhē* and *hātąm* as given in the above translation, we avoid this inconsistency. In order to be as concise as possible the author has not mentioned the worship of God himself separately, but included him among the Holy Immortals, God's beings. To prevent the objection that *hātąm* should refer to living, i.e. human, beings, we may quote Y. 41,2.4, where God himself is one of the *hātąm*.

7. The Avestan commentary of the prayer in Y. 21.1-2

does not explain every word but restricts itself to point out three teachings in the text:

yesnīm vacō ašaonō zaraθuštrahe. yeṇhē hātąm āat̰ yesnē paitī. yeṇhe iδa mazdā̊ yasnəm cinasti yaθa dāta ahurahe. hātąm yasnəm cinasti.

yaθa haδbīš jījišąm. yā̊ṇhąm iδa ašaoninąm ārmaiti. paoiryanąm yasnəm para. cinasti yaθa vahməm aməšaēibyō. θrāyō tkaēša. vīspəm vacō yesnīm. cīm aoi yasnō aməšə̄ spəntə̄ paiti yasnahe.

"A word of worship of the truthful Zarathustra. 'In the worship towards whose beings then'. 'Whose: Here he (Zarathustra) teaches the worship of the Wise one as the laws of the Lord'. 'Towards the beings': He teaches the worship

as the desire to win through the beings. 'Towards which': Here he teaches the worship of the truthful female ones whose first is Right Thinking as the prayer to the Immortal ones. Three teachings (form) the whole word of worship. Towards whom the worship? Towards the Holy Immortals of the Yasna."

LOMMEL suggests that the three teachings are the worship of the Wise Lord and of the Holy Immortals in two groups: males and females. The answer is however by far easier: The three teachings are those indicated by the three key-words *yeṇhē*, *hātąm*, and *yā̊ṇhąm*.[18] This is also the explanation given in the Dēnkart (v. § 13).

8. *yaθa dāta ahurahe* is explained by BARTHOLOMAE and LOMMEL in the following way: "as according to the Loard's law", *dāta* thus taken as instrumental. But *dāta* can

be nom. acc. pl. n., too, and this interpretation is favoured by the parallel expressions *yaθa jījišąm* and *yaθa vahməm*.

yaθa haδbīš jījišąm is difficult. BARTHOLOMAE (*AirWb.* 609) gives "refreshment, nourishment", from ²*gay-*=Skt. *jinv*. LOMMEL however correctly connects it with Skt. *jigīṣā* "desire to win", adding that *jījišā* cannot be separated from the verbal forms *jījišāiti* and *jījišaŋuha*, which also BARTHOLOMAE derives from ³*gay-*"to win".

V. 15, 13f. *yezica vaocāṯ aēšō nā hanąm aētaēšąm jījišaŋuha pərəsaŋuha aētaδa aēša yā kainə hanąm aētaēšąm jījišāiti pərəsāiti.* "And if the man says: 'Try to win an old woman among those, asks her......'" [19]

It is quite probable that all the forms of the desiderative *jījiša-* must be derived from *ji-* "to win", all the more since this particular form does not occur in the paradigm of Skt. *jinv-*.

Therefore, I do not hesitate to translate also Y. 39, 1– not mentioned by LOMMEL– accordingly: *iθa āṯ yazamaide gəuš urvānəmcā tašānəmcā ahmākəng āaṯ urunō pasukānąmcā yōi nå jījišənti yaēibyascā tōi ā yaēcā aēibyō ā aŋhən* "In this way, then, we worship the soul and the creator of the cow, then our own souls and (those) of the domestic animals, which seek to win us, and for which these (shall be) and which shall be for those." [20] BARTHOLOMAE translates "which nourish us". Although the whole problem of the souls of the cow, of man, and of the domestic animals needs clarification [21], which would exceed the limits of the present study, I suggest that the souls try to win man for the good of which they are constantly aware.

The word *jījišā* occurs another time in the Yasna

haptaŋhāiti (35, 8): *ašahyā āaṯ sairī ašahyā vərəzənē kahmāicīṯ hātąm jījišąm vahištąm adā*[22] *ubōibyā ahubyā* "Then you may inspire everybody among the beings with the best desire to win in the association Truth, in the community of Truth, for both the lives."[23] In this instance, *hātąm* clearly refers to human beings. But we should be ill-advised if we were to presuppose that *haδbīš* in Y. 21, 2 is meant in the same sense. The different grammatical already excludes a direct quotation from Y. 35, 8. Even if the author had that passage in mind, he changed its wording for his particular purpose. It is hardly possible to take the instr. *haδbīš* in the sense of a dat. as BARTHOLOMAE and LOMMEL do.[24] *haδbīš jījišąm* can only mean "the desire to win the beings" or "through the beings". i.e. with the help of the beings. The latter is a *priori* more probable since the *Aməša Spəntas* are usually considered as the helpers of the truthful, as the real winners of the battle with the liars, or the givers of the rewards. Another problem is as to the object of *jījišā*. It could stand elliptically for "the desire to overcome the enemies, viz. the liars", which would be in concord with the use of *ji–* prevalent in the Veda. On the other hand, the author may have thought of *vaŋhō* as the object to be won, a solution which I should prefer although it cannot be strictly proved.

9. *ārmaiti pacirya* is interpreted by BARTHOLOMAE (*AirWb.* 337) as *tatpuruṣa*: "der erste in Frommergebenheit"; by LOMMEL as bahuvrīhi "an deren Spitze Armaiti steht".[25] Since it is actually imposible to separate the entities meant by *yą̊ŋhąm* from those meant by *tąscā*, and since those are explicitly identified as *Aməša Spəntas*, only the interpretation of LOMMEL holds good. The compound has two closely related parallels: *aša. paoirya* and *manas.*

paoirya, both explained by BARTHOLOMAE and LOMMEL in their respective ways.

Vr. 19,1 *dāmān manas. paoirya ašavanō yazmaide* means according to LOMMEL "we worship the truthful creatures whose first is (Good) Thought", viz. the Holy Immortals.[26] This is favoured by the fact that the paragraph begins with the worship of God *(spəntəm ahurəm mazdām yazamaide)* followed by that of the Holy Immortals *(spəntəm aməšə spəntə yazamaide)*, and also ends with the worship of God, this time as the all-knowing mental power *(xratūm vispō. vīdvåŋhəm yazamaide yim ahurəm mazdām)*, preceded by the sentence under discussion, which in a symmetrical composition will quite likely refer to the Holy Immortals.

Vr. 19,2 *dāmīm yazamaide yām ārmaitīm spəntām yehe dāθre ašaheca ašaonāmca aša. paoiryanām dāmanām*. Without satisfactory explanation are the words *yehe dāθre*. *yehe* must refer to *ārmaiti* and is therefore probably loc. sg. *dāθre* is hardly a (corrupted) case-form of the fem. of *dātar*, as LOMMEL suggests, but certainly one of *dāθra* n., as BARTHOLOMAE classifies the word without however offering an interpretation of the context. Since a loc. sg. would not make any sense, only the nom. acc. dual. is left. In fact, in *ašaheca ašaonāmca aša. paoiryanām dāmanām* two members of the creation are given, and we can translate: "We worship the creatrix Holy Right Thinking, in whom both creations (are), (that) of Truth and (that) of the truthful creatures whose first is Truth."[27] It is likely that here Armaiti is considered as the mother of Truth and the other Holy Immortals, all the more since the sentence has been composed in reference to Y. 34,10 b *spəntāmcā ārmaitīm dāmīm vīdvå hiθām ašahyā* "and Holy Right Thinking, knowing (her as) creatrix, companion of Truth."[28]

Y. 19,12 *yaθa frā. iδa āmraot yat dim ahūmcā ratūmcā ādadat. iθa dim para cinasti yim ahurəm mazdām manas. paoiryaēibyō dāmabyō* ... "(The word) 'as' (of the Ahuna vairya) he pronounced here, when he installed him as *ahu* and *ratu*[29]: thus he teaches him who is the Wise Lord (as *ahu* and *ratu*) for the creatures whose first is thought ..."[30] LOMMEL suggests that here God is meant as *ahu* and *ratu* of the spiritual creatures, viz. the Holy Immortals. In the light of the following paragraph however this view cannot be justified. The explanation of the words *dazda manaŋhō* of the prayer runs as follows: *para īm iδa manaŋhe cinasti yaθa fradaxštārəm manaŋhe. manaŋhō aētavaitya īm kārayeiti. šyaoθənanām iδa ahūm kārayeiti.* "He teaches him here for the thought as instructor for the thought. 'Of the thought': therewith he makes him (the instructor). 'Of the deeds': here he makes him the *ahu*." This means obviously that Zarathustra teaches God as the proper instructor of man's thought and as the *ahu* of his deeds. It is hardly possible that the Holy Immortals are referred to in this way, which would logically lead to the unbelievable assumption that the Holy Immortals are something separate from God and must be brought under his guidance.

Y. 19,19 *kat humatəm. ašavanəm manas. paoiryō. kat hūxtəm. māθrō spəntō. kat hvarštəm. staotāiš aša. paoiryāišca dāmōbīš.* It is LOMMEL'S opinion that the first and the last question and their answers do not match and are moreover ungrammatical. The sentences are of course incomplete, but I prefer to look first for a conjectural interpretation into which the words transmitted fit, before charging the author or compiler with grammatical ignorance. The verb missing must be one governing an accusative of the person, and I suggest *fra mrū* "to pronounce"[31], the part.

perf. pass. of which is to be added in the questions as well as in the answers: "What (is pronounced) as good thought? (The Ahuna vairya is pronounced) to the truthful as that the first of which is thought.[32] What (is pronounced) as good word? (The Ahuna vairya is pronounced as) the Holy Spell. What (is pronounced) as good deed? (The Ahuna vairya is pronounced) through praises and the creatures whose first is Truth.[33] To take the Ahuna vairya as subject of the replies can be justified by a reference to Y. 19,16, where *humata, hūxta*, and *hvaršta* are the constituting verses of the Ahuna vairya. If our interpretation is correct, *manaṡ. paoirya* is an epithet of the Ahuna vairya and may be explained as "whose first is thought" in the sense of "inspiring first thought". *aša. paoirya* however can only refer to the Holy Immortals as manifestations of the human virtues since "the creatures whose first is Truth" are coordinated with the "praises".

III. Pahlavi Versions

10. The PTr. of the prayer is printed in Y. 5, 6 of the edition: *MNV MN 'YT'nv 'ytvnv PVN yzšnv QDM ṠPYR* [*'YK yzšnv ZK ṠPYR y 'hrmzd y hvt'y r'y 'BYDVNyt*]. *'ohrmzd'k's MN 'hr'yyh 'p'kyh cyk'mc'y* [*cyk'mc'y k'r V krpk V mzd V 'p'tdhšnv 'k's YHBVNyt*]. *hnjmnyk'nv ZKr'nv V NKB'nv YZBHVNm* [*'mhrspnd'n*].

kē hac hastān ētōn pat yazišn apar vēh [*kū yazišn ān vēh i ōhrmazd i hvatāy rāy kunēt*]. *ōhrmazd ākās hac ahrāyīh apākīh cēkāmcāy* [*cēkāmcāy kār u kirpak u mizd u pātdahišn ākās dahēt*], *hanjamanīkān narān u mātakān yazom* [*amahrspandān*].

The text is not uniformley transmitted. The edition follows: J_2 K_5 reads *QDM'vv 'LḤ ṢPYR, 'p'kyhc* and adds

cyk'mcy L'VHR atū after the first *cyk'mc'y.*[34] The quotation in the Zend i Vahuman Yasn 5 11[35] differs in several points. It reads *QDM 'L ŚPYR*; the first gloss runs *MNV' ohrmzd r'y 'BYDVNyt*; in the second gloss *'YK* stands for *cyk'mc'y* and between *p'tdhšnv* and *'k's* the word *'ohrmzd* is added; in the last gloss *MNV ZKryc NKByc 'LHš'nv ŚPYR HVHd* is added to *'mhrspndn*. The reading *'L ŚPYR* points to some relation with the K_5-group. It is difficult to decide which line, that of J_2 or that of K_5, represents the original better. If we prefer J_2, it is because of the close relation to Y. 51,22 (v. § 5), where *pāhlom* which corresponds with *vēh* does not appear in an oblique case, and therefore we may postulate the same for *vēh*.

I translate: "In the worship towards whom among the beings (is) thus the better[36] [i.e. the worship does the better for Ohrmazd the Lord]. Ohrmazd knows everything because of the company of Truth [he knows every deed and good deed and reward and recompense]. We worship the male and female members of the congregation [the Holy Immortals]." [37]

If this rendering is correct, the Pahlavist has understood *hātąm* in a general sense just as he has done with *yōi åŋharəcā həntīcā* in Y. 51,22. *vēh* is taken according to the gloss as the better which is given to Ohrmazd in the worship. That differs considerably from the interpretation of 51,22, where the best is a gift from God. *tåscā tåscā* however are explicitly explained as the male and female Holy Immortals in an unambiguous gloss, which is moreover stressed by the addition *kē nār-ic mātak-ic ōi-šān vah hand* "who (are) male and female, they are good" in the Bahman Yašt. The Av. *yåŋhąm* is translated wrongly by *hanjamanīkān;* apparently

the word has been confused with the noun *yāh*[38] which occurs once as *hanjaman* in the PTr. (Yt. 11,3).[39]

11. The PTr. of the commentary in Y. 21,1–2 differs in some respects from that of the prayer itself:

yzšnv gvbšn̄v YHVVNtv 'hrvbv zrtvštv. MNV MN 'YT'nv 'ytvnv PVN yzšnv QDM. LVMḤ ZYš 'vhrmzd yzšnv c'stv YHVVNytv ['YK ZK KN 'BYDVNyt MNV[40] *d'tv y 'vhrmzd ['YKš d't y fr'rvnv] MNš yzšnv ⟨y⟩ 'YTyh c'štv YHVVNytv [YK ZK 'LH vyš 'BYDVNyt].*

MNV[40] *hst'nv'NŠT'nv z'yšn* (read *zyvšn*[41]) *hv'dšnyh ['Pš'nv ZK MND'M YMLLVNytv MNVš'nv ŠPYR tvb'nv zyvstnv] LTMḤš ZK 'hrvb'nv ZKr'nv V NKB[nv PVN bvndk mynšnyh y prtvm yzšnv BR' c'štv YHVVNytv MNV*[40] *nyy'yšnv y 'mhrspnd'nv ['YK 'vstvprytv y 'mhrspnd'nv 'BYDVNyt]. 3 d'tvbryh YHVVNtv ['YKŠ cyr 3 BYN YHVVNtv]. hrvspynv gvbšn ⟨y⟩ yzšnv YHVVNtv. QDM 'L MNV yzšnv YHVVNtv. 'mhrspnd'n PVN ZK yzšnv.*

yazišn gōbišn būt ahrav zartušt. kē hac hastān ētōn pat yazišn apar. ētar ī-š ōhrmazd yazišn cāšt bavēt [kū ān ō kunēt] kē[40] *dāt i ōhrmazd [kū-š dāt i frārōn] hac-aš yazišn ⟨i⟩ hastīh cašt bavēt [kū ān ōi vēš kunēt].*

kē[40] *hastān martomān zāyišn* (read *zīvišn*[41]) *hvādisnīh [u-šān ān ciš gobēt kē-šān vēh tuvān zīvistan] ētar ān haravān narān u mātakān pat bavandak mēnišnīh i fratom yazišn bē cāšt bavēt kē*[40] *niyāyišn i amahrspandān [kū ustōfrīt i amahrspandān kunēt]. 3 dātvarīh būt [kū-š vicīv 3 andar būt]. harvispēn gōbišn ⟨i⟩ yazišn būt. apar ō kē yazišn būt. amahrspandān pat ān yazišn.*

"There was a word of worship of the truthful Zartušt. 'In the worship towards whom among the beings thus': Here the worship of Ohrmazd is taught by him [i.e. he does so], which is the law of Ohrmazd [i.e. his righteous law]. By him the worship of the existence is taught [i.e. he does it more] which is the existing men's desire for life [and he says this thing of those who are able to live better]. Here the worship of the truthful male and female ones with Perfect Thinking as the first is taught by him, which is the prayer to the Holy Immortals [i.e. he does the prayer-offering for the Holy Immortals]. There were 3 ordinances [i.e. therein were 3 decrees]. (That) was the complete word of worship. For whom was the worship? The Holy Immortals in that worship."

As to the formal side, the key-words *yeəhē* and *yå̊əąm* are not translated; only *hātąm* is given since it is taken as a syntactical part of the sentence, whereas the two other key-words are mere quotations to be explained. *hātąm* furthermore is taken wrongly as the abstract noun *hastīh* "existence". *hadbīš* appears as *hastān martomān* and is apparently not identical with *hastīh*: In their desire for life the existing men perform worship for the "existence"; it remains unclear which beings are comprised in the existence. The translation of *jījišā* as *zīvišn hvādišnīh* depends on wrong etymology, as pointed out above (§ 8). For *iδa ašaoninąm*...the Pahlavist goes beyond his text, introducing the male and female ones are mentioned in the Avesta. Obviously he had the interpretation of *yå̊əhąm tąscā tå̊scā* as *hanjamanīkān narān u mātakān* in mind and, has completed the fragmentary Avestan commentary.

Comparing the versions of the prayer and of the commentary, we see that the translation of *hātąm* posed certain

difficulties for the Pahlavist. In the prayer he was bound to the word order and was unable to express the relation of *yeәhē* and *hātām* to *yesnē* as it is given in the Avestan commentary. In neither case did he relize the relation between *hātәm*, *yå̄әhām*, and *tāscā tåscā*, which resulted in the postulation of a third a third entity to be worshipped, the existence.

IV. The Testimony of the Dēnkart[42]

12. In the Dēnkart we find summaries of the contents of the prayer as well as of its commentary. The passages are invaluable for the appreciation of the traditional interpretation. They depend on the PTr., and occasionally part of the PTr. have been literally incorporated. The text is not always easy, and certain points remain unclear. The additional information to be collected from the Dēnkart can be considered as a supercommentary to the PTr.[43]

In the summary of the Varštmānsr Nask, Fargard 4 (IX,27 DkM 823), not actually the contents of the prayer are given, but a dialogue in which Zartušt is called upon by Ohrmazd to speak the prayer. The way in which this is done allows some conclusions about the contents.

gvptš 'vhrmzd Ī spyt'm'n zrtvštv 'YK YMLLVN *gvbšnv y* LNḤ *yzšnv nyy' yšnv* MNV[44] *'mhrspnd* HVḤ*vym cygvn* LK*v* HVH*tv zrtvhštv yštv* MY' V *yštv 'vrvr* V *yštv 'hrvb'n prv'hr* ⟨V⟩ *yštv*[45] ZK[46] *mynvg yztv* MNV*c* 'L *gytyy pr'c* V *bryhynytv. 'pš gvptv zrtvhštv* 'YK YMLLVN*m gvbšnv y 'vhrmzd y yvdtv byš y 'vhrmzd d'tst'n* ZK *y* LK^{V}M *yzšnv* V *nyy' yšnv y* MNV *'mhrspnd* HVH*vyt. 'hr'yyh p'hlvm* 'YT*v 'p'kyh.*

guft-aš ōhrmazd ō spitāmān zartušt kū gōb gōbišn i amāk yazišn niyāyišn kē amahrspand hēm cēgōn tō hat-zartušt yašt āp u yašt urvar u yašt ahravān fravāhr ⟨u⟩ yašt ān mēnōg yazat kē-c ō gēti frāc brēhēnīt. u-š guft zartušt kū gōbom gōbišn i ōhrmazd i yut bēš i ōhrmazd dātastān ān i šmāh yazišn u niyāyišn i kē amahrspand hēt. ahrāyīh pāhlom hast apātīh.

"Ohrmazd spoke to Spitaman Zartušt: 'Speak the word of worship and veneration for us, who are the Holy Immortaals, (just) as you, namely, Zartušt, worshipped[47] the waters and worshipped the plants and worshipped the Fravahrs of the truthful and worshipped that spiritual Yazat[48] who is created also for the material world.' And Zartušt spoke: 'I speak the word of Ohrmazd, which (is) without harm, (and) which (is) the decision of Ohrmazd, (viz.) that worship and veneration for you, who are the Holy Immortals.' Truth is best prosperity."

In contradistinction to the Avestan commentary, the prayer is here regarded as a revelation of Ohrmazd; it is called "the word of Ohrmazd" and not "the word of Zartušt." The expression *ōhrmazd dātastan* depends perhaps on *dāt i ōhrmazd* of the PTr. of the commentary. The prayer is again explicitly meant for the Holy Immortals including Ohrmazd himself; the silence about the worship of human beings is significant. It is only stated that Zartušt has worshipped water, plants, Fravahrs, and a certain spiritual Yazat before God has taught him the worship of the Holy Immortals.

13. The passage on the commentary in the summary of the Bag Nask, Fargard 3 (IX, 49. DkM 877 f.), gives a fuller account and enables us to get a more definite idea

about the contents and its interpretation. Unfortunately the text is, as to syntax and style, partly very difficult, and the translation is given with all reservations.

HVḤt LTMHš ZK y 'vhrmzd yzšnv c'stv YHVVNytv MNV d'tv ZK y 'vhrmzd 'YKš d'tv <y> fr'rvnv. V ZNḤc 'YKš yzšnv y 'vhrmzd krtv YHVVNytv MNV 'L 'YTyk'n mrtvm'nv zyvšnv hv'dšnyh. ZNḤc 'YKš 'hrvb'nv ZKr'n V NKB'n yštv YHVVNytv MNV nyy'yšnv 'L 'mhrspnd'n. V vc'ršnv vcšnv cygvn 'YTv šn'yšnv hm'k ZK y 'vhrmzd 'Pš hvtyh' 'Pš PVN ptvnd YHMTVNyt 'L 'vhvmzd šn'yšnv. V LTMḤ YMLḺVNytv m'tyg'nv 3 MNVš BYN hm'k 'yvynkv <w> yzšnv y 'vhrmzd. 'yvkv 'MT mrtvm d'tv pr'rvnv cygvn PVN pr'rvnyhy y mynšnv shm'nyhytv ZNḤ ZK y hvtyh' YHMTVNyt 'L 'vhrmzd yzšnv V nyy' yšnv. 'yvkv 'MT 'L mrtvm zyvšnv hv'dšnyh c'šytv 'Pš d'tst'n p'nkyh V prvrt'ryh 'p'ryk hdyb'ryh šn'yynyt'ryh <y> mrtvm KHDḤ gytyydhšnv y mrtvm hdyb'r ZK krtv PVN mrtvm pvhl <V> ptvnd YHMTVNyt 'L 'vhrmzd yzšnv šn'yšnv. 'yvkv 'MT nyy'yšnv y 'mhrspnd'nv 'BYDVNyt y 'YTv 'mhrspnd yvdtv yvdtv PVN hvyšk'ryh ptš[49] gyh'nv vyn'ršnv r'dynšnv nyrvkynytnv r'y cygvn MN dynv pyt'k yštnv ZNH 'YK yzšnv ZNḤ [PVN][50] 'y[51] pvhl V ptvnd YHMTVNyt 'L 'vhrmzd yzšnv šn'yšnv 'mhrspnd MNV PVN yzšnv zvryhytv V[52] 'dvkv mrtvm [MNV][50] PVN zvr y 'mhrspnd vhšyhstv. 'hr'yyh p'hlvm 'p'tyh 'YTv.

hat ētar-aš ān i ōhrmazd yazišn cāšt bavēt kē dāt ān i ōhrmāzd kū-š dāt ⟨i⟩ frārōn. u ōn-ic kū-š yazišn i ōhrmazd kart bavēt kē ō hastīkān martomān zīvišn hvādišnīh. u ōn-ic kū-š ahravān narān u mātakān yašt bavēt kē niyāyišn ō amahrspandān. u vicārišn vicišn cēgōn hast šnāyišn hamāk ān i ohrmazd u-š havatīhā u-š paṯ ēvēnak ⟨i⟩ yazišn i ōhrmazd. ēvak kā marton dāt frārōn cēgōn pat frārōnīh-ē i

mēnišn sahmānīhēt ēn ān i hvatīhā rasēt ō ohrmazd yazišn u niyāyišn. ēvak kā ō martom zīvišn hvādišnīh cāšēt u-š dātastān pānakīh u fravartārīh apārīk hadyārīh šnāyēnītārīh <i> martom hamist getīdahišn i martom hadyār ān kart pat martom puhl <u> patvand rasēt ō ōhrmazd yazišn šnāyišn. ēvak kā niyāyišn i amahrspandān kunēt i hast amahrspand yut yut pat hvēškārīh pat-aš gēhān vēnārišn rādēnišn nērōkēnītan rāy cēgōn hac dēn pētāk yaštan ēn kū yazišn ēn [pat] ē puhl u patvand rasēt ō ohrmazd yazišn šnāyišn. amahrspand kē pat yazišn zōrēhīt u adavak martom [kē] pat zōr i amahrspand vahšēhist. ahrāyīh pāhlom apātīh.

"Herein, namely, the worship of Ohrmazd is taught, which is the law of Ohrmazd, i.e. his righteous law. And this, too, that by it (viz. the prayer) the worship of Ohrmazd is performed, which is the desire of life for the existing men. This, too, that by it the truthful male and female ones are worshipped, which is the veneration of the Holy Immortals; and the definition[53] of (its) interpretation how the whole satisfaction of Ohrmazd is. And by itself and by its transmission[54] it amounts to the satisfaction of Ohrmazd. And here he (Zartušt) mentions 3 teachings, in which all kinds of worship towards Ohrmazd (are).

One – when man's law is righteous since it is restrained by righteousness of thought; that amounts by itself to worship and veneration of Ohrmazd.

One – when he teaches for man the desire of life; and his decision (is) protection and nourishment (and) other help (and) satisfaction of man; that (decision), made by the helper (viz. Zartušt) of all the worldly creation of man in favour of the bridge (–judgment) and lineage[54] of man, amounts to worship and satisfaction of Ohrmazd.

One – when he performs the worship of the Holy Immortals, which is in order to strengthen each Holy Immortal separately in his duty, in his arranging and guiding the world. As it is evident from the scriptures, to worship (means) this that the worship – this one in favour of his (man's) bridge (–judgment) and lineage[55]–amounts to worship and satisfaction of Ohrmazd. A Holy Immortal (is) who is strengthened by worship, and a guileless[56] man (is) who is advanced by the strength of a Holy Immortal. Truth is best prosperity."

The first sentences are composed with close reference to the PTr. The worship of the existence (*yazišn i hastīh*) is ommitted, and the "desire of life is directly connected with the worship of Ohrmazd. The main object is the interpretation of the prayer, and the allusions of the PTr. are specified. Actually the author seems to be of the opinion that the whole worship is meant for God himself – the three teachings are explicitly explained as all kinds of worship towards God. And after every teaching he says that it amounts to the worship of God.

The statement that the prayer by itself and by its transmisson amounts to the satisfaction of God means apparently that its utterance and its handing down to one's childern is already an act of worship.

The firt teaching, the law of Ohrmazd, is explained as the law of man restrained by righteousness of thought – the law of man is identical with that of God if it is righteous.

The second teaching is men's desire of life, viz. good life, and Zartušt's decision in this point is that good life is reached by protection, nourishment, other help, and satis-

faction of other men, and this decision is made for the benefit of men's final judgment and descendents. In contradistinction to the PTr., which does not gives any idea of the kind of worship performed for the existence, we learn here that it is not actual worship in the sense of sacrifice, but rather charity for on's fellow-men. This implies that the alleged worship of human beings in the Yasna-ceremony is not thought of.

For the third teaching, the worship of the Holy Immortals, a general interpretation of the effect of sacrifice is given – the Holy Immortals are strengthened for their own duties. In the last sentence this idea is continued by a statement on the reciprocity of worship and reward.

V. Conclusion

14. It could be pointed out that the model of the *yeəhē-hātãm-prayer* (Y. 51,22) and the prayer itself (Y. 27,15) teach only the worship of God and the Holly Immortals. The Avestan Commentary on the prayer (Y. 21,1–2), although it is very fragmentary and does not give a complete interpretation, expressly states this and no other object of worship.

The whole Pahlavi tradition agrees with this view. On the other hand the Pahlavi translations are grammatically incorrect in several respects. Among these mistakes one is of special interest as to the prevailing explanation of the prayer, which is supposed to be directed to human beings. The grammatical function of *hātãm* was not realized, and thus it was separated from the pronouns *yå̄əhãmcā tåscā tåscā*, which do not make any sence without relation to *hātãm*. The

Pahlavist restored some sense by committing another mistake; viz. by deriving the pronoun *yăǝhām* from the noun *yāh* and translating it by *hanjamanīkān*. It suggests itself that he, left with the isolated *hātām*, had to take it either in the most general sense or to connect it with human beings. In the translation of the prayer it is not quite clear which way he chose, but in that of the Avestan commentary he introduces the human beings, which again was facilitated by a new mistake – the translation of *jījišā* as *zīvišn hvādišnīh* "desire of life". The author of the Dēnkart has tried to avoid the inherent contradiction by interpreting the "desire of life" as charity for one's fellow-men, which is considered as worship of God.

For the interpretation of the Avestan text there are two possibilities between which we can choose: Either we follow the Av. commentary which combines *yåǝhām* with the Holy Immortals and forces us to do the same with *hātām*, or we take up the Pahlavist's explanation of *hātām* as human beings, which forces us to discard the whole tradition about the Holy Immortals. I am not in doubt that the first way is the safer one.

NOTES

1. ZII. 1, 1922, 16f. NGGW. 1935, 161. — For the sake of brevity I discuss neither all translations extant nor all interpretations acadamically possible. The elaborate study on the *yeəhē hātām* by Th. BAUNACK in J. und Th. BAUNACK, *Studien auf dem Gebiete des Griechischen und der arischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1888, was not accessible.

2. Cf. H. LUDERS, *Varuna* I, Göttingon 1951, 18ff. This custom is also known in the Avesta, as LUDERS has pointed out in the forthcoming second valume of his work. Cf. also W. LENTZ, *YIsna 28* (Abh. Akad. Wiss. Lit. Mainz 1954.16), 26; P. THIEME, ZDMG. 107, 1957, 91ff.

3. LUDERS, l. c, 20 n. 5.

4. J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *Zoroastre* Paris 1948, 279 (cf. addendum, 296b), follows LOMMEL; his translation: "Je sais qui mon souverain bien selon la Justice consiste à vénérer", howevr is incomprehensible for me.

5. Z is the knowing one (28,4. 31,19) who has recognized God (31,8, 45,5); he is the only one who has heard the teachings (29,8); he can teach the praises of God and the prayers of Good Thought (31,1), worship God, Good Thought, and Truth as nobody before (28,3); he knows that the prayers will have success (28,10) and knows the rewards for the deeds of man (28,4).

6. J. HERTEL, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Awestas und des Vedas* (Abh. Sächs. Akad. Wiss. Phil;-hist. Kl. 40.2, 1929), 241, quotes the following passages: God knows the forms (29,6), the secret teachings (48,3), recognizes the lawful ones by their Truth and Good Thought (28,10), knows the best things of life (46,10). The word *vaēdišta* (32,7. 46,19) is to be excluded since it is to be derived from *vid* – "to find" (cf. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 1. 1957,172), and 32,7 goes with LOMMEL's examples (cf. the author's *Vedisch vratá und awestisch urvāta*. Hamburg 1958, 132 with n, 55). — In general I refrain from discussing HERTEL'S views, based on his fanciful Aryan fire-doctrine, and refer to him only when he has succeeded in clarifying grammatical facts; as to the Gathic stanza and the *yeəhē hātām* he tries to improve BARTHOLOMAE'S interprepretation.

7. I take the infinitive *daidyāi* as depending on *cagədō* which meets the requirements of grammar better than the common assumption of an indepandant inf. in the sense of an imperative. A similar case (44,1) is dealt with in *Vedisch vratá* ... 119 with n. 21.

8. Cf. the translation of W. LENTZ, ZDMG. 103, 1953, 331.

9. The idea of the "better" or "best" is one of the *Leitmotive* of the whole Gatha, and so is its identity with *xšaθra* (cf. LOMMEL, NGGW. 1935, 165 ff.), which seems to be as well God's kingdom as the rulership of God's aspects and their corresponding human virtues. On the concept of divine aspects and human virtues v. esp. M. W. SMITH, *Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas of Zarathushtra* (Language Dissertations No. IV, Philadelphia 1929); W. LENTZ, *Yasna 28*, passim, and ZDMG. 103, 331.

10. *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904, 499. 1315.

11. E.g. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, *The Divine Songs of Zarathushtra*, Bombay 1951, 26 f. and 821 ff.; J. C. TAVADIA, *Indo-Iranian Studies* II, Santiniketan 1952, 122 f.

12. I give the Pahlavi texts in transliteration and in transcription. For the transliteration I adopt, in the main, the method followed by H. F. J. JUNKER, *Das Frahang ī Pahlavīk in zeichengemässer Anordnung*, Leipzig 1955, deviating only in minor points as in the assimilation of the transliterations of the heterograms to that of the Iranian words. The problematic ligatures 𐭮𐭥 and 𐭠𐭲 are marked by heavy type (on these cf K. Barr, BSOS. 8, 1935-7, 391-403). In the transcription the historical, but not the pseudo-historical spellings are retained. — Editions used: *Pahlavi Yasna and Visperad*, ed. B. N. DHABHAR, Bombay 1949; *Zand-i Khûrtak Avistâk*, ed. B. N. DHABHAR, Bombay 1927; *Vendidâd*, ed. Hoshang JAMASP, Bombay 1907.

13. The PTr. of the quotation in Y. 15,2 differs from that in 51,22 especially in the glosses (I give transcription only):

    ōi kē hac ahrāyīh apākīh ī pāhlom [kū apākīh hac ahrāyīh rāy hac yazdān ān mas] ī man yazišn apar ō ēn. ākās ōhrmazd kē būt hand u kē-c bavēnd. ōi-šān yazom pat ān ī xvēš nām u-šān apar rasom ō hadyārīh [kū-šān hamāk hadyārōmandīh ō girēm u dahom].

    "He whose best (is) because of the company of Truth [i.e. for the company out of Truth (is) that great (thing) from God] in my worship for him, (is) Ohrmazd knowing (those) who have been and who are; them I worship by their own names and approach them for help [i.e. thus I take from and give all help to them]."

14. *Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis*, ed. S. D. BHARUCHA, II, Bombay 1910.

15. *Die Yašt's des Awesta*, Göttingen-Leipzig 1927, 12.

16. A few examples are discussed in *Vedisch vratá*..........., 125ff. Cf. also W. B. HENNING'S article on Yt. 13,2-3 in *Asiatica*, Festschrift Friedrich Weller, Leipzig 1954, 289-92.

17. ZII. 1, 21.

18. Correctly seen by HERTEL, l. c., 247.

19. The PTr. is problematic:

HT 'ytvnv YMMLVNyt ZK YBR' 'YK 'L hān 'vv hvršnv zyvšnv zynyt'r'nv [MHV zyvndkyh y 'NŠVT''n k'hynd] hmpvrs. 'ytvnv ZK MNV knyk 'L hān '[Hš'nv zyy'nk zynyt' r'nv] hmpvrsyt.

agar ētōn gōbēt ān mart kū ō hān ō hvarišn zīvišn zēnītārān [kē zīndakīh i martomān kāhēnd] hampurs. ētōn ān kē kanīk ō hān ōi-šān ziyānak zēnītārān hampursēt.

The text seems to be badly transmitted: *'vv hvršnv* is probably a corruption for *'LHš'nv*, *zyy'nk* for *zyvšnv*. For *zyvšnv zynyt' r'nv* JAMASP reads *synšnv zynyt 'r'n* "seek Ligustrum Vulgare", taking *'r'n* (Pers. اران) as part of the gloss (v. his *Glossary*, 27 and 268). Thereby he finds the expected verbal form, which is however correct only for 14 — in 18 it should be *zyn* in parallel to *hmpvrs*; moreover the gloss does not fit into the context at all. B. T. ANKLESARIA (*Pahlavi Vendidad*, Bombay 1949, 314) wants to substitute *zyy'nk* for *zyvšnv* in 18 and reads *hān'n ršnv* for *hān hvršnv*, the translations of *jījišaᵊuha* and *jījišāiti* seem to be missing: "Inquire about and consult 'han', *old women* (nurses), — women well-versed in means for abortion, ..." All his conjectures are impossible. There is no Phl. word *rašn* for "old woman" or "nurse", and the parallels (Y. 39,1: v.n. 20; Y. 35,8: v n. 28; Y. 21,2: v. § 11) clearly indicate that *zīvišn zēnītārān* is the translation of *jījišaᵊuha* and *jījišāiti*. That the grammatical form has has not been recognized is not surprising. I translate: "If, thus, this man says: 'Consult an old woman among those life-attempters [who destroy the lives of men].' Thus, this girl consults an old woman among those life-attempters ... 5

20. *PTr. LTMH 'ytvnv yzm MNV ZK y gvspnd'nv rvb'nv tnv [HY' YHBVNt 'vhrmzd] ZK y LNHk'mv rvb'nv psvyk'nc MNV LNH zyvšnv hv'st'r HVHd [nyvkyh HY' YHBVNt] 'LHš'nc y LK [ZK y 'rsyšt'r] 'LHš'nv MNV HVHd [v'stryvš HY' 'tv].*

ētar ētōn yazom kē ān i gōspandān ruvān tan [jān dāt ōhrmazd] ān i amākān ruvān pasvīkān kē amāk zīvišn hvāstār hand [nēvakīh jān dāt] ōi-šān ic i tō [ān i artēštār] ōi-šān kē hand [vāstryōš dāt].

"Here we worship thus (those) which are the souls (and) the bodies of cattle [the vital breaths are created by Ohrmazd] (and) our own souls (and those) of small cattle, which are the wishers of our life [the vital breaths of virtue are created]: these (are) yours (those of the warrior), these (are of those) who are [(the vital breaths) of the peasant are created]."

21. On *urvan* cf. in the last instance: P. THIEME, *Studien zur indogermanischen Wortkunde und Religionsgechichte* (Ber. Sächs Akad. Wiss. Phil.—hist. Kl 98. 5, Berlin 1952), 55-61 W. H. BAILEY, TPS. 1954, 141 f. H. HUMBACH, *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 8, 77 ff.: on *gəuš urvan* cf. W. LENTZ, ZDMG. 123,338. *Yasna 28*, 58 f. H. HUMBACH, IF. 63,1957, 52 ff. H. P. SCHMIDT, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 1,164. J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *The Western Response to Zoroaster* Oxford 1958, 104. W. P. SCHMID IF. 64, 1958, 1-12.

22. *ādā̊* with GELDNER, KZ. 27, 240n. 1. and LOMMEL, l. c. 23, against ādā of GELDNER'S edition followed by BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 718 with n. 5 and 25 (723).

23. *PTr. MNV PVN 'hr'yyh 'ytvnv srd'ryh 'pš PVN 'hr'yyh v'lvnyh ['YK yny PVN srd'ryh y v'lvnv YHSVNytl] kt'rc'y MN 'YT'nv 'NŠVT' 'nv MNV zyvšn'vmndyh ['ytvnv gvptl] p'hlvm dhšnv* PVN *KR'*2 *'hv'nv*

kē pat ahrāyīh ētōn sardārīh u-š ahrāyīh vālōnīh [kū dēn pat sardārīh (read with M: *sarāār u*) *vālōn dārēt] katārcāy hac hastān martomān kē* (drop with M) *zīvišnōmandīh [ētōn cēgōn guft pāhlom dahišn pat har 2 ahvān.*

"Who thus by the leadership of Truth and the community of Truth [i.e. he sustains the religion by a leader and the community] shall give to everybody among the existing men the state of life [thus as he said], the best for both the lives."

24. Correctly noticed by HERTEL, l.c., 248, who however erroneously takes it as the *agens* of the sacrifices.

25. Cf. GELDNER, KZ. 27,246. Th. BAUNACK, l.c., 310. J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, Les composés de l'Avesta, Liége-Parir 1936, § 185.

26. *PTr. d'm mynyt'ryh 'LḤ y prtvṃ 'hrvbv yzvm* [BYN *g'yvkmrt*].

dām mēnītārīh ōi i fratom ahrav yazom [*andar gāyōmart*].

"We worship that which is the first true the thinking, that of the first truthful one of creation [in *Gayōmart*]," which means that Gayomart was the first truthful thinker; cf. also the PTr. of Y. 19.19 (v.n. 39).

27. PTr d'm yzvm MNV spndrmt MNV PVN ZK y 'LḤ dhyšu 'hr'yyhc ['švvhšt] y 'hrvb'nv 'hr'yyh y prtvn d'm'n ['y pyt'k 'YK prtvm spndrmt YHBVNt 'AR 'p'ryk d'mc y 'hrvbv].

dām yazom kē spandarmat kē pat ān i ōi dahišn ahrāyīh-ic [*ašavahišt*] *i ahravān ahrāyīh i fratom dāmān* [*ē pētāk kū fratom spandarmat dāt pas apārīk dām-ic i ahrav*].

"We worship the creature which (is) Spandarmat, who (is) in her creation, and the Truth [*Aša vahišta*] of the truthful ones, the Truth of the first creatures [it is, namely, evident that Spandarmat was created first, and then the other truthful creatures]."

The PTr. of the same sentence in Yt. 1,32 runs as follows:

ZK d'm r'y yzvm MNV spndrm ['mhrspnd bvndk mynšnyh] 'YTv ZK d'mnv r'y yzvm ZK 'p'tyh <y> p'k 'hrvbv 'YTv V p'k d'm 'YTv MNv prtvm MNV d'm'nv <y> p'k r'y yzvm.

ān dām rāy yazom kē spandarmat [*amahrspand bavandak mēnišnīh*] *hast ān dāmān rāy yazom* (*ān apātīh* <*i*> *pāk ahrav hast u pāk dām hast kē fratom kē* (read *kū*) *dāmān* <*i*> *pāk rāy yazom*.

"We worship the creature which is Spandarmat [the Holy Immortal Right Thinking]. We worship this creature; this prosperity is of the pure and truthful, and the creature is pure which (is) the first, (and) which pure creature we worship."

Obviously only the beginning of the Avestan text is translated, the rest is an expanded gloss, which is rather obscure. Cf. M. F. KANGA, *Pahlavi Version of Yašts*, Bombay 1941, 15 with n. 3; his translation is incomplete.

28. Cf. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 737.

29. Neither *ahu* nor *ratu* are translated because their meanings need a new examination which is beyond the scope of this study. On the Ahuna vairya

cf. in the last instance: E. BENVENISTE, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 1,1957, 77ff. H. HUMBACH, *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 11,1957,67ff. J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 2, 1958, 66ff.

30. PTr. cygvnv pr'c LTMH gvptv ['YK hvt'y V dstvbr YHSVNšnv cygvnv ZNH MND'M 'ytvnv gvptv cygvnv ZNH DYN' 'ytvnv] 'MTc 'vv 'LH 'hvv V rtv YHBVNyt ['YK tnv BR' 'vv 'yrptst'nv YHBVNytv]. 'ytvnvš ''vv 'LH c'šytv YHVVNytv 'vhrmzd mynšn mynyt'ryh y prtvm d'm ['YKš g's'nykyh rvb'k kptv YHVVNytv].

cēgōn frāc ētar guft [kū hvatāy u dastubar dārišn cēgōn ēn ciš ētōn guft cēgōn ēn dātastān ētōn] kā-c ō ōi ahv u rat dahēt [kū tan bē ō ērpatastān dahēt] ētōnaš ō ōi cāšīt bavēt ōhrmazd mēnišn mēnītārīh i fratom dām [kū-š gāsānīkīh ravāk kart bavēt].

"As he pronounced here [i.e. a ruler and a high-priest are to be maintained, as this thing is spoken so, as this decision (is spoken) so], and when he gives him an *ahu* and a *ratu* [i.e. he dedicates the body to theological studies], thus Ohrmazd is taught to him as the thinking of the thought of the first creature [i.e. the Gathic lore is set going by him]" The last part seems to indicate that the thinking of the first creature was dedicated to Ohrmazd. — Cf. WEST'S translation: SBE. 37,457.

31. It must however be admitted that the instance for *fra mrū* with the accusative of the person (BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb.* 1195) are not beyond doubt.

32. Note the readings of Mss. L_3 *paōirvaēibyōs* O_2 *paoiryaēibyō*, and P_1 *paoiryōbyō*, which seem to be an assimilation to *manas*. *paoiryaēibyō* in Y. 29,12.

33. PTr. cygvnv 'MT PVN hvmt ['YK dynv PVN hvmt p'yk YK'YMVN'tv]. 'MT PVN 'hrvbv myny'r 'VL' YHVVNtv [PVN g'yvkmrt YAVVNtv] 'Pš KN mynytv cygvnv 'MT PVN hvht. 'MT m'nsrspnd ['vK']. cygvnv 'MT PVN hvvrštv. 'MT st'yšn 'hr'yyhc y prtvm d'm ['YK yzšnv V 'p'rykc krpkv PVN g's'nykyh 'BYDVNyt].

cēgōn kā pat humat [kū dēn pat hamat pāyak ēstāt]. kā pat ahrav mēnītār fratom būt [pat gāyōmart būt u-š ō mēnī]. cēgōn kā pat hūht. kā mānsrspand [ōnūn]. cēgōn kā pat huvaršt. kā stāyišn ahrāyīh-ic i fratom dām [kū yazišn u apārīk-ic kirpak pat gāsānīkīh kunēt].

'How when through good thought [i. e. the religion remaired in the state of good thought]? When it first was through the truthful thinker [it was through Gayomart, and he thought so]. How, when through good word? When (it was) Mansrspand [then]. How, when through good deed? When (it was) the praise and the truth of the first creature [i. e. he performs worship and other good deeds through the Gathic lore]."

The subject of the whole seems to be the Ahunavar comprising all good thoughts, words, and deeds of man. Cf. also WEST'S translation: SBE. 37, 460 f. (On the word read by me ,v'K'N cf, also SALEMANN, *Middle Persian Grammer* § 124 n. 1. My reading is conjectural; ō nūn "for now"> "then'?)

34. The same words occur at the end of the PTr. of V. 1, 14 (15). On *atū*, written in Av. characters, cf. Hoshang JAMASP'S *Glossary* 40. It corresponds to Av. *tūn, tun,* given in some mss. only. Both words are obscure.

35. *Zand-i Vahuman Yasn*, ed. B. T. ANKLESARIA, Bombay 1957. Cf. WEST, SBE. 5,214. The published Pazend and Persian translations of the Bahman Yašt drop the passage: *Pâzend Texts*, ed. E. A. ANTIA, Bombay 1909, 345 1-13; *Dârâb Hormazyâr's Rivâyat*, ed. M. R. UNVALA, Bombay 1922, II, 92 1.6; it is also missing in the Persian translation of the Ohrmazd Yašt (§ 21), ed. J. DARMESTETER (*Etudes iraniennes*, Paris 1883, II, 270).

36. WEST takes *apar* with *vēh*. Indeed, *apar* is a preposition, not a postposition, but since it is obviously used as a postposition in Y. 51,22, which is due to the word-by-word translation, there is no reason to deviate from this here.

37. WEST'S translations of the passages in the Bahman Yašt and in the Pahlavi Yasna (SBE. 37, 175 n. 3) differ considerably from each other in the last sentence, the reasons for which I am unable to trace.

38. BARTHOLOMAE, *AirWb*. 1291: "crisis, decision, turning-point". But cf. now also H. H. SCHAEDER, ZDMG. 94, 1940, 493 n. 1; H. HUMBACH, *Müncoener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 2, 1952, 13 n. 17: "(ceremonial) procession" from *yā* "to go".

39. Cf. M. F. KANGA, *Pahlavi Version of Yašts*, 41, and the Skt. translation *saṃgrāmī* in Y. 46,14.

40. The reading *kē* may be due to one of the common confusions between *kē* and *kū*. If we take *kū* as the correct rendering of Av. *yaθa*, the translation would run "as the law of Ohrmazd" etc.

41. This conjecture is confirmed by the Dēnkart (below § 13) and the PTr. of *jijišā* in Y. 35,8 (v. n. 23) and the related verbal forms (v. n. 19; 20).

42. Editions: *The Complete Text of the Pahlavi Dinkard*, ed. D. M. MADAN, I-II, Bombay 1911; *The Dinkard*, ed. and transl. Peshotan SANJANA, I-XIX, Bombay 1878-1928; cf. WEST'S translation in SBE. 37. In the numeration of the chapters I follow WEST; SANJANA gives always one number less.

43. The chapter on the prayer in the Sūtkar Nask (IX, 4; DkM 789) does not give any information about the contents and is therefore irrelevant for our purpose.

44. SANJANA adds *'vhrmzd* with K.

45. DkM *yštnv*; I follow K with SANJANA.

46. K adds *y*.

47. In the translation of *cēgōn tō hat* and *yašt* I agree with SANJANA. WEST'S translation can hardly be justified. Usually *hat* introduces a sentence, in this case however this would not make any sense.

48. SANJANA thinks that this spiritual Yazat is probably Sraoša, but he does not give any reason for this identification.

49. SANJANA adds *y*.

50. Only in the Poona Ms.: v. MADAN, l.c., I,IX.

51. SANJANA omits.

52. Thus with SANJANA, DkM reads *zvryhytnv*.

53. WEST and SANJANA read *važagān* "sins" which makes no sense in the context.

54. WEST and SANJANA translate *patvand* by "connection"; but here only "transmission, lineage" can be meant. On this use of the word cf. H. W. BAILEY, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, Oxford 1943, 149 f.

55. I read *pat ē puhl u patvand* with the Poona Ms., which is supported by the above parallel sentence.

56. WEST and SANJANA read *ēvak*. WEST: "the archangel ... is one"; SANJANA: "One (is) that mankind are advanced", thus making four teachings out of three. The word is certainly to be read *adavak*, whereby we win a significant antithetical sentence.

SECTION IV: ISLAMIC CULTURE

President: DR. GULAM DUSTAGIR RASHID
Hydarabad—Dn.

1. Footprints of Islam in Cuttack
   Shahabuddin Md. Gani
2. Authentic Reciters of Quran in Berar
   Mirza Bismillah Beg

FOOTPRINTS OF ISLAM IN CUTTACK

By

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The Muslim contact with Orissa commences from its invasion of Sulaiman Karranni in 1568 A. D. and terminates with its final surrender by the Nazims of Bengal to the Marathas in 1751 A.D. This occupation of Orissa by the Muslims was short-lived in comparison to other Muslim possessions in India, even though it bears a testimony to their creative genius. The imprints of the Muslim invaders on this part of India went deeper and the ultimate consequence is the present Muslim minority and their cultural contribution to Orissa.

Cuttack had been the headquarters of the Mughal Government in Orissa which was once described as "the mine of heathenism" [1] by Badaoni, a historian of the reign of Akbar. Abul Fazal calls it "Katak. The city has a stone fort situated at the bifurcation of two rivers, the Mahanadi held in high veneration by the Hindus, and the Kathjuri. It is the residence of the Governor and contains some fine buildings" [2]. This stone fort has been identified with Barabati fort constructed by Mukundadev [3]. But there are evidences to the existence of a Mughal palace called Lalbagh [4] in this city, constructed in about 1633 A.D. when William Bruton and Cartwright [5] visited Cuttack. We do not have any evidence from Persian sources about the construction of the palace. But T. Motte's description in 1766 A.D. throws some light on it. He writes: "Each of the sides of the triangle on which Cuttack is built is two miles, but on the banks of Cutjuree is best inhabited. On it is Lollbug, the residence of the Governor of the Province, a large building, laid out in a number of courts, in the Morsico taste, but much out of repair, the Governor, when one part is ready to fall, removing to another" [6]. By the time of the Marathas the palace was fast disintegrating. T. Motte's statement, "but on the banks of Cutjuree is best inhabited", can be justified by the fact that all the old Muslim families of Cuttack reside in that area. We have also the highest number of old mosques situa-

1. Al Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II. p. 128.
2. Abul Fazal, Ain-i-Akbari, Trans, H. S. Jarret, Vol. II. p. 139.
3. S. C. De, 'Fort of Barabati', *OHRJ* Vol. VI. Part I. p. 56.
4. G. S. Das, 'History of Cuttack', *OHRJ*.
5. *Early Annals of English in Bengal*, Vol. I. p. 13.
6. *Early European Travellers in Nagpur Territories*, p. 76.

ted in that part of the city. This shows that the then city of Cuttack covered the western part of the city and on the east it extended up to Quadam Rasul now in the centre of the city. The presence of so many graves and shrines also supports the presence of Muslim habitation in that part of the city. The present Raj Bhavan stands on the supposed site of Lalbagh.

To begin with the Muslim monuments in Cuttack, the mosque at Dewan Bazar, Cuttack, comes to the foreground as it is the oldest mosque of this city. The Persian inscription records, "During the reign of Shah Alamgir (Aurangzeb) the foundation of this mosque was laid by Mirza Jaffar, Dewan of Orissa, in the year 1069 Hijra" (1658 - 69). [1] Mirza Jaffar was the Dewan of Orissa during the reign of Prince Azam, Subahdar of Bengal. The locality has been named after him as Dewan Bazar. This mosque contains three domes, one of which is bigger than the other two on either side. This feature later becomes common to the mosques of Mughal Subahdars in Orissa. It has also four small minarets. On the entrance also there is a dome. In the interior of the mosque there are two lattices. There are six arches. It has three 'hujras' on the right side, which seem to be an inevitable part of mosques in Orissa. Unlike other mosques it has not been built on an elevated plinth.

Next in order comes the finest mosque of the city, the Jama Masjid. It is supposed to be close to the Lalbagh palace. The dated inscription on it states, "At divine command Mohiuddin (Aurangzeb) built this mosque in 1102 A. H." (1690-91 A.D.). Another inscription informs that "during the reign of Shah Alamgir (Aurangzeb) there was a Nazim of this country (Orissa) whose name was Ekram Khan who was worthy of getting of title of Khan-i-Khanan." The inscription further states, "Light of the eyesight of the ladies of the harem, Shahzada Begum, (Zaibun Nessa), who is as pious, righteous and god-fearing as Mary. She built this magnificent mosque for the prayer of God. This mosque is as pure and sacred as the divine house (Kaaba)." Probably, Ekram Khan constructed and dedicated the mosque to the daughter of Aurangzeb, Zaibun Nessa. [2] Another Arabic inscription is a *Dua* (Prayer) of Nad-i-Ali wherein the builder seeks respite from troubles and his salvation from Allah. This mosque has been built on an

1. 'Notices of Some Persian Inscriptions in Orissa', B. V. Nath, *OHRJ* Vol. VI. No. 4.

2. 'Leckie's Journal in Orissa of 1790', *OHRJ* Vol. II, No. 3 & 4 p. 4 Appendix.

elevated base like many Muslim monuments. It has been raised to an elevation of fifteen feet from the ground. It had originally one entrance on the east which is closed now. A new entrance has been built by Mantri Mohammed Hussain, a resident of Cuttack town, in 1799 A. D. with the "Azangah" above it. It has three domes, of which the central is larger than the other two on either side of it. The two side domes are of the same size, thus maintaining symmetry which is one of the distinct features of Mughal architecture. It has eight minerats, the largest two of about seventyfive feet high from the ground, another two about thirty feet and the rest twentyfive feet high. There are seventeen arches and two lattices in the interior of the mosque. On the right side there are some *hujras* some of which are used by the Madrassa run by Anjuman-i-Islamia, Cuttack. This mosque is still in perfect condition and has all the characteristics of the Mughal architecture like the minaret, dome, arches and mihrabs.

Next in order of date comes the mosque at Mohammed Ali in 1125 Hijra (1713)[1]. The special significance of this mosque is that this is quite similar to that of undated mosque Fetah Khan Rahman inside Barabati fort in design, but a bit smaller in size. The mosque is a simple one and its simplicity is its grandeur. The front facade has been adorned with mihrab designs, small and big. It has no ornamentation like those of Jama Masjid. It has three domes, the central being larger than the two domes on either side, which are of equal size. There are no minarets in it. It has three arches and a door leading to its interior.

The only difference between this mosque and the Fetah Khan mosque is that the latter has not been erected on a high plinth. These two mosques stand separate in design and architecture from other monuments of Cuttack. Probably this is the effect of Pathan influence. The Fetah Khan Rahman mosque has no dated inscription. It seems that some inscriptions were there which have been taken away and one on the top of the central mihrab has been rubbed away. However a stone tablet containing some Persian inscription is present but it is disfigured. Probably some Governor of the fort of Barabati had built this mosque for the convenience for prayer of the

1. The designation of Md. Ali is not given. One thing can be said of this Md. Ali, that he was Alivardi Khan Mahabat Jang, who, according to Gholam Hussain migrated to Orissa with his father after the death of Azem Khan in 1707 A. D. from Bengal. He built this mosque to please Shujauddin Khan who himself was a great builder. Alivardi was earlier known as Mirza Mohammad Ali. (Sier Mutaqherin (Trans) Vol. I, p. 275.)

army which was garrisoned in those days in the fort of Barabati, because the army would have found it difficult to move to Jama Masjid leaving the fort five times daily for their prayer. Most probably this was erected by Fetah Khan after whose name it is popular. We do not have any other evidence of it except a grave in Qudam Rasul of one Fetah Khan. The inscription says, "Fetah Khan, the leader of the army, expired in the month of Rajab 1128 Hijra" (1768–69). If he is the builder then we can conclude that it was built before 1768 A.D. by the army commandar Fetah Khan. There are two rooms on either side with tile roof which are later additions. The presence of mihrab in them shows that they were also used for prayer [1].

The most important Mughal monument in Orissa is Qadam Rasul (footprint of the Prophet) situated in this city. This is a shrine which contains the footprint of the Prophet brought by a Sayyid from Mecca. This shrine has a boundary of nearly half a square mile. There is a small minaret on each corner of the boundary wall. It had a beautiful garden inside it, but since long, it has been converted into Muslim public burial ground. The main entrance is called the Naubat Khana (Music gallery). It is two-storeyed and the upper storey of this entrance is used for beating drums at the sunrise and sunset, to inform the public at distance the time, and for observing fast and breaking the fast especially during Ramzan. The inscription on the main gate says, "During the reign of Alamgir II, this Naubat Khana was built by Nawab Maslehuddin under the supervision of his son Didar Ali in the year 1169 Hijra (1755 A.D.) [2]. Nawab Muslehuddin (Mirza Saleh) succeeded Mir Habib after the latter's murder in 1752. He was an officer of the Nagpur Court who negotiated in the treaty between Janoji and Alivardi Khan in regard to Orissa, and was appointed Deputy Governor of Orissa with the mutual consent of Alivardi and the Marathas [3]. After passing through the Naubat Khana there is one small mosque on the right side called Moti Masjid. Probably the name has been given after the name of Shah Jahan's Moti Masjid. This mosque is built on an elevated plinth and seems to be contemporary the Naubat Khana. It is a small mosque having a single flat dome resting on two arches.

After passing through the Naubat Khana there is another entrance. This entrance contains six domed hujras attached to it and

1. A letter form the Collector of Cuttack to the Secretary in Fort William, Calcutta, preserved in Orissa State Archives, dated 1812, states that this mosque, was used as a powder magazine by the English troops.
2. *OHKJ*, B. V. Nath.
3. Siyar-i-Mutah Kherin, Vol. II, pp. 113 (Trans.) and K. K. Dutta's *Alivardi Khan and his Times.*

were used as rest houses. This entrance has two stone pillars inserted on the walls on both sides. It is important to note that two such pillars of green chlorite stone are lying in the vicinity of the gate exactly similar to the two used in the entrance. Of the two unused, one has a Hindu sculpture on it with *Kirttimukhas*, a floral band and a row of dancing women. Probably these pillars were brought from some temple out of which only the unsculptured pair had been used. On the right hand side of this entrance there is a mosque (in the inner courtyard) which is similar in architecture to Moti Masjid mentioned earlier. It is of course bigger in size. This was built in 1130 A.H. (1717 A.D.) by Nawab Shujauddin Muhammed Khan who built the main dome of Qadam Rasul in 1127 A.H. (1714 A.D.). This mosque has nine small minarets having a big minaret bearing the emblem of Islam, the crescent and a star. It has five arches.

A concrete path leads to Qadam Rasul. No shrine of Cuttack or Orissa has such a huge and massive building. It is a hectagonal building standing on a hectagonal plinth and has only one big bulbous dome over the pinnacle of which a small golden dome has been placed. This building contains four doors one in each direction and four lattices in between the doors. The interior roof of it has been beautifully painted with flowers and plants of many varieties. This painting essentially noteworthy for the absence of human forms as Islam prohibits such paintings. It has a marble floor in black and white. In the centre the footprint has been placed in a metal basin on a pillar, which is surrounded by water kept in a hectagonal reservoir. The dome is similar in style to that of the dome of Safdar Jung's tomb [1] in Delhi constructed much after Qadam Rasul in 1753. The pinnacle has been adorned as if like those of a *Sikhara* temple with *kalasa* and *umalaka*. [2] There are inscriptions in Persian all round this shrine in which Shujauddin has been highly praised. On the north-western corner of the boundary there is a tank surrounded by a picturesque stone wall, hoary with age and fast disintegrating. The inscription which was there is not seen now in full. As Prof. Asghar Ali of Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, read it long ago, it states that it was constructed by Nawab Shujauddin in 1127 A.H. [2] (1714 A.D.). It is contemporary to the main building.

Next comes the Sardar Khan mosque. The inscription states that it was built by Sardar Khan in the year 1167 A.H. (1753 A.D.).

1. For Safdar Jung's Tomb see *Indian Architecture (Islamic)*, Precy Brown.
2. *OHRJ* Vol. VI, No. 4.

Traditionally it is known that Sardar Khan was a trader in horses who settled there after an accident and built this mosque only for the use of his family. This Sardar Khan can be identified with the diamond merchant referred by Thomas Motte in 1766. [1] It has three domes and contains six arches and four *hujras* attached to it. By this time this three-domed mosque had become popular in Cuttack. This mosque is on an elevated plinth and just below the steps of the main entrance there is a tank with stone steps.

Inside the compound of Raj Bhavan, Cuttack, there is a small mosque and a shrine of Hazrat Mansoor Shah under a big pipal tree. The dated inscription states that it was built by Hazrat Mansoor [2] in the year 1800 A.D. The builder was a saint who used to sit under this tree and subsequently built the mosque. After his death he was buried beside the mosque. This shrine is visited both by Muslims and the Hindus.

Another noteworthy mosque is Paltan Masjid (Army Mosque). The name of the mosque seems to indicate that it was built for the army or by the army. Its date is unknown. This mosque, like other mosques, contains the usual number of three domes and four big minarets, of which two are about fifty feet high from the ground. There are many other mosques of importance like the Choti Masjid, Oriya Bazar Masjid etc. All these have been constructed in the early 19th century. They all contain domes and minarets with no ornamentation. These have followed the architecture of Jama Masjid and have two tall minarets in common.

The other forms of Muslim monument of Cuttack are the innumerable shrines scattered all over the town and in the near vicinity of Cuttack. One of the biggest shrine is the Qadam Rasul which has been mentioned earlier. Dr. H. K. Mehtab opines that "the cult of Satyapir that is to be found in Orissa was introduced by Shujauddin into this land" [3] after the installation of Qadam Rasul. The occult phenomena or mystic element of the Muslim sufis have always impressed the Hindus. Besides Quadam Rasul most of the other shrines of Muslim saints are visited by Hindus as well.

1. 'A Narrative of a journey to Diamond mines at Sambalpur 1766' *OHRJ*. Vol. I. No. 3.
2. H. K. Mehtab, *History of Orissa*, (New Oriya Edition).
3. H. K. Mehtab, *History of Orissa* (English Edition), P. 104.

According to general belief these numerous shrines can be divided into two groups, firstly the shrines of holy persons or saints and secondly the shrines of Shahids (martyrs) who fell fighting in battle. Among the shrines of holy saints, the shrine of Bokhari Saheb in the Barabati fort is famous and is visited both by Muslims and Hindus on Thursdays. Even people from other States visit it. Then there is the shrine of Mastan Shah, which is visited during the days of Muharrum. Next to this is the shrine of Malang Shah visited by believers on Thursdays. There is the shrine of Mansoor Shah inside the Raj Bhavan. These four are the important shrines of the Muslims. There are also shrines for Shah Panju Shah, Buland Shah Wali and others. Of the second category there are innumerable shrines in the vicinity of Cuttack dedicated to martyrs and pseudo-saints about whom little is known.

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AUTHENTIC RECITERS OF THE QURAN IN BERAR

By

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The sources of information on the subject above are three manuscripts, one in Hyderabad State Library (*Jehade-Shah Rahman*), one in Aurangabad (*Nurul - Inayet*) and one at Balapur (*Malfuzale-Inayettahi*), other matter being taken from the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, the *Imperial Gazeteer of India, Berar*, and other printed books like those of Abdul Jabbar Asifi named *Aulia-e-Deccan*; *Aulia-e-Sindh* by Syed Motiullah Arshad; and *Tarikh-e-Amjadi* by Khalib Amjad Husain.

At the commencement is given a short historical background of Berar. Then is given a detailed account of the school run by Imad Shahis of Berar in the 16th century, in which the following famous professors worked: (1) Qari Mohd. Taher (2) Qari Mohd. Qasim, (3) Mulla Mohd. Ismail, (4) Qari Sh. Tayyeb Sindhi and (5) Hafiz Sh. Eesa Jundullah.

The members of the family of Qari Sh. Abdullah of Ellichpur are seen to take active part in the oral transmission of the Quran in the 17th and 18th centuries, prominent among them being Hafiz Mohd. Hasan, Qari Sh. Husain, Qari Sh. Abdullah, Sh. Abdul Qadir, Sh. Shukrullah and Bibi Makh-Khan.

Qari Abdul Haleem and his son Syed Shah Mahmud of Balapur were prominent during the reign of Shah Jahan and Aurangazeb.

Qari Abdul Latif of Talegaon Dasadar and Qari Syed Husain of Ellichpur, with his mosque, were well-known during the latter part of Aurangazeb's reign.

The family of Shah Inayetullah with his sons and grandsons were serving the literary cause in 18th and 19th centuries.

In all 30 names are given with a short sketch of their lives.

قراء برار

۱— دکن میں برار کا علاقہ اپنی زرخیزی اور سرحدی علاقہ ہونےکی وجہ سے جنگ و جدال و نزاع و قتال کا مرکز رہا ہے۔ اسکے باوجود یہاں علماء وقراء نے اپنے فرائض انجام دئے ہیں اور اہل علم کا بڑا طبقہ اون سے فیض یاب ہوتا رہا ہے۔ مگر اب ان علماء کے نام سے بھی اہل وطن واقف و مانوس نہ رہے۔ مجھے بہت سی کڑیاں قلمی اور غیر مطبوعہ تذکرون سے ملی ہیں جنکا ذکر میں یہاں اس غرض سے کررہا ہوں کہ برار کے صاحبان تحقیق و اہل قلم اونپر مزید روشنی ڈال سکیں تاکہ یہہ ایک مربوط ادبی تاریخی شکل اختیار کرسکے۔

برار کا تاریخی پس منظر

۲— برار پر آندھرا والونکا تسلط تیسری صدی قبل مسیح سے معلوم ہوتا ہے۔ یہہ تسلط سنہ ۲۳۶ ع تک برقرار رہا۔ وینکٹا کاس سنہ ۲۳۶ ع میں حکمران ہوا۔ اوسکے بعد دس بادشاہ اس خاندان کے یہاں حکمران رہے۔ اونکے بعد ابھیر اور اہبر نے ٦۷ سال حکمرانی کی چوالکیا خاندان بعد ازان برسر عروج آیا جنھوں نے سنہ ۷۵۰ ع تک حکومت کی۔ چوالکیا خاندان کو راشٹرا کوٹاس نے شکست دیکر سنہ ۹۷۳ ع تک بادشاہت کی۔ اسی خاندان کا آخری بادشاہ راجہ ایل تھا (جسکو بیرات بھی کہتے تھے) جسکے مظالم سے گجرات کا راجہ و دیگر اطراف کے رجواڑے نالان تھے ایک بے گناہ کے ہاتھ کاٹنے کی وجہ سے شاہ عبدالرحمن ابن سلطان سید حسین عمر بن شاہ سید مسعود بن شاہ عطاء اللہ غزنین سے ایک

چھوٹے سے لشکر کے ساتھ چلے ۔ کوچ کرتے ہوئے برار کے
پایۂ تخت ایلچپور کی طرف آئے ۔ گجرات کے راجہ نے نہ صرف
گذرنے کی اجازت دی بلکہ لشکر کے رسد کا انتظام بھی کردیا ۔ شاہ
عبدالرحمن کا مقابلہ بمقام گنج شھدا ھوا ۔ وھاں حضرت کے بہت
سے رفقاء شہید ہوئے آخرش حضرت کو راجہ کے قتل کرنے
میں کامیابی ہوئی ۔ اور خود بھی شہید ہوگئے حضرت کا مزار
ندی کے کنارے واقع ھے ۔ علاء الدین خلجی جب یہاں آیا تو اوسنے
مزار و مسجد پختہ بنوا کر گنبد بھی بنوادئے ۔ جب مرھٹونکا تسلط
ھوا تو راجہ بھونسلا آپکا بہت معتقد تھا ۔ اوسنے حضرت کا مزار
اور اونکی والدہ کے مزار کی مرمت کرادی ۔ یہہ ایک پر فضا مقام
ھے جہاں اب بھی لوگ زیارت کیلئے بکثرت جاتے ھیں ۔ حضرت
کے ساتھ اونکی والدہ ملکہ جہاں و برادران و استاد شمس الدین
ھمراہ آئے تھے اور یہیں رہ گئے ۔ موخر الذکر سے علم و فضل کا
چرچا ھوا ۔ مگر شاہ عبدالرحمن کی شھادت کے بعد مقامی راجاؤنکا
تسلط ھوگیا ۔ سنہ ۱۱۸۸ع میں بھلاما نے اپنا اقتدار جمایا ۔ اوسکے
بعد یاداواز ایکسو سال حکمراں رھے ۔ سنہ ۱۲۹٤ع میں علاء الدین
خلجی کا حملہ ھوا جو ایلچپور کے راستے سے آکر یاداواز کے
آخری بادشاہ راجہ رامچندر کو جسکو اسلامی مورخ رام دیو کے
نام سے یاد کرتے ھیں شکست دی ۔ قطب الدین مبارک شاہ نے
سنہ ۱۳۱۷ عیسوی میں برار کو اپنے تسلط میں کیا سنہ ۱۳٤۸ع میں
سلطان حسن گنگو بھمن شاہ نے اپنی بادشاہت کا اعلان کیا ۔

بھمنیوں کے بعد فتح اللہ عماد شاہ نے برار کے علاقہ پر سنہ ۱۴۹۰ع سے سنہ ۱۵۰٤ع تک حکومت کی - پھر اوسکے بیٹے علاء الدین عماد شاہ نے سنہ ۱۵۰٤ع سے ۱۵۲۹ع تک - دریا عماد شاہ نے سنہ ۱۵۶۲ع سے ۱۵۲۹ء تک - برھان عمادشاہ نے سنہ ۱۵۶۲ع سے سنہ ۱۵۷٤ع تک حکومتیں کیں - برھان نابالغ ھونیکی وجہ سے اوسکا وزیر تفال خان برسر اقتدار رھا - سنہ ۱۵۷٤ع میں نظام شاہ والی احمد نگر نے حملہ کرکے تفال خان کو شکست دی اور برھان شاہ وغیرہ کو قید کرکے احمد نگر لے گیا ایک رات سب کو زھر دیکر مارڈالا - عماد شاھیوں کے بعد نظام شاھی حکمران رھے - ملک عنبر کا تسلط سنہ ۱۵۲۶ع تک رھا - اوسکے انتقال کے بعد مغلوں کے زمانے مین سلطان مراد نے برار فتح کیا - اوسکا انتقال سنہ ۱۵۹۸ع میں ھوا - شاہ جھان کے زمانے میں دکن کا پورا علاقہ مغلوں کے زیرنگین رھا - اورنگ زیب سنہ ۱۶۳۶ع سے دکن کا صوبدار رھا - اوسکی تخت نشینی کے بعد سنہ ۱۶۸۰ع میں سمبھاجی نے برار کو تاراج کیا سنہ ۱۶۹۸ع مین راجہ رام نے سنہ ۱۷۱۸ع مین سید براداران نے برار کا علاقہ مرھٹوں کے حوالے کردیا سنہ ۱۷۲٤ع مین نظام الملک آصفجاہ نے دکن کی حکومت سنبھالی - مگر مرھٹوں سے لڑائیاں بجاری رھیں اور برار کا علاقہ ھروقت تاخت و تاراج ھوتا رھا - سنہ ۱۸۰٤ع میں بھونسلا راجہ نے برار کو نظام کے حوالے کردیا - مگر یہہ زمانہ امن کا نہ تھا - پنڈھاری اور بھیل اس علاقہ کو ھروقت لوٹنے تیار رھتے تھے - شاہ شجاع الدین صاحب جو حیدرآباد کے بڑے

عالم و فاضل و قاری و صاحب فیض بزرگ تھے وہ ایک خط میں
لکھتے ہیں کہ « فقیر بچشم خود دیدہ است کہ قوم پنڈھار در ملک
برار و خاندیش چہ ظلمہا بر باشندگان کردہ اند کہ بر دشمن مباد ۔
و چہ بے حرمتی مستورات اشراف نمودہ کہ. کسے مبیناد » ۔ بعد
ازان پورن مل اور پستن جی نے کپاس کی کاشت پر قبضہ کرکے
نفع اندوزی کی ۔ مہدوی پٹھانون کا زور نظام الملک اصفجاہ کے
زمانے سے ایلچپور میں تھا ۔ علی مردان خان ۔ سرمست خان ۔ سلطان
خان و اسمعیل خان پہلے سلحدار تھے ۔ وہاں سے ترقی کی ۔
اسمعیل خان پنی کو ہفت ہزاری منصب ملا اور ایلچپور کے
صوبیدار بنائے گئے ۔ اوسکے اور اوسکے فرزند صلابت خان کے
تعلقات نظام حیدرآباد اور مرہٹہ راجہ بھونسلا دونوں سے اچھے
تھے صلابت خان کے بعد بہلول خان پھر نامدار خان پھر ابراہیم
خان پھر غلام حسن خان نواب رہے ۔ چندولال کے زمانے
میں ریاست حیدرآباد دیوالیہ ہونیکے قریب آ لگی تو سنہ ۱۸۵۳ ع
میں برار انگریزون کے سپرد کردیا گیا ۔ اوسکے بعد برار کو
قدرے امن نصیب ہوا سنہ ۱۹۰۲ ع میں نظام سے مستقل معاہدہ
ہوگیا ۔

۳ — ارباب نظر جانتے ہیں کہ جب تک امن و سکون نصیب
نہو علوم و تمدن و تعلیمی ادارے سرسبز نہیں ہوتے ۔ تاہم جو
کام اوس زمانے میں بزرگوں نے انجام دیا وہ بیحد قابل قدر ہے ۔
جو انہماک اونکو اشاعت علوم میں تھا اوس سے اسکا پتہ نہیں چلتا
کہ ملک میں اسقدر بدامنی تھی ۔

شیخ شمس الدین

٤— یہہ بزرگ مع اپنے خاندان کیے شاہ عبدالرحمن شہید کے همراہ سنہ ۹۹٦ ع مطابق سنہ ۳۷٤ ھ میں آئے تھے ۔ اور اونکے استاد بھی تھے ۔ یہہ بابرکت خاندان ایلچپور ھی میں آباد ھوگیا ۔ آپکی ایك لڑکی تھی جس سے نسل چلی ۔ موجودہ جانشین درگاہ اون ھی کی اولاد سے ھیں ۔ خطیب امجد حسین صاحب مرحوم نے اسکا ذکر تاریخ امجدی میں کیا ھے ۔ یہہ بزرگ شاہ عبدالرحمن شہید کی درگاہ میں دفن ھیں ۔ اونکی قبر زیارت گاہ خاص و عام ھے ۔

دور عماد شاھی

٥— یہہ دور ایکسو سال تك رھا ۔ حالانکہ عمادشاھیونکو سیاسی گتھیان سلجھانے سے کم فرصت ملی مگر اسکے باوجود ایك مدرسہ ایلچپور میں قائم کیا جسکے جملہ اخراجات شاھی خزانے سے ادا ھوتے تھے ۔ اس مدرسے کو تفال خان نے زیادہ رونق دی تھی ۔ مندرجہ ذیل قاریان کرام اس مدرسے میں کام کرتے دکھلائی دیتے ھیں ۔

شیخ القراء شیخ طاھر محمد سندھی محدث

٦— شیخ[1] طاھر محمد ابن شیخ یوسف ابن شیخ رکن الدین کا وطن قصبہ پاتر علاقہ سندھ تھا ۔ آپ بڑے عالم و فاضل تھے ۔ اپنے چچا شیخ عیسی سندھی سے تجوید و قراءت سیکھی ۔ جب ھمایون کی

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(۱) ملاحظہ ھو تاریخ براھانپور از خلیل الرحمن و مضمون شیخ فرید لکچرار در معارف ستمبر سنہ ۱۹۵۲ء و تذکرہ اولیائے سندھ از سید محمد مطیع اللہ ارشد ۔

آمد کی وجہ سے سندھ میں ابتری پھیلی تو آپ اپنے قبیلے کو لیکر
سنہ ۹۵۰ ھ میں احمد آباد پہونچے۔ وہاں کچھ دنوں قیام کیا۔
انہی دنوں حضرت محمد غوث گوالیاری احمد آباد آئے ہوئے تھے
اونکی خدمت میں پہونچے اور چند روز کے بعد مرید ہوگئے۔
احمد آباد سے روانہ ہوکر ایلچپور پہونچے۔ تفال خان نے بڑی خاطر
و مدارات کی۔ مدرسہ عماد شاہی آپکے سپرد کردیا۔ آپ زبردست
محدث بھی تھے۔ غرض آپکی بدولت ایلچپور میں تجوید و حدیث
کا چرچا ہوا۔ شہرت کے ساتھ دور دور سے لوگ آپکی درس گاہ
میں آنے لگے۔ آپنے چوٹی کے اساتذہ اس مدرسے میں جمع کئے
جنکا ذکر بعد ازین آئیگا آپکے چھوٹے بھائی۔ قاری شیخ قاسم
کا انتقال یہیں سنہ ۹۸۱ ھ میں ہوا مگر قبر کا پتہ نہیں کہ کہاں ہے
جس محلے میں آپ رہتے تھے وہ ابتک سندھی پورے کے نام سے
موسوم ہے۔

۷— تفال خان کے قید ہوجانیکے بعد برار کا شیرازہ درہم برہم
ہوا تو سنہ ۹۸۲ ھ میں آپ مع متعلقین برہانپور پہونچے۔ شاہ
محمد فاروقی نے بڑی قدر و منزلت کی۔ شاندار محلات نذر کئے۔
غرض آپکا درس بڑی آب و تاب سے برہانپور میں شروع ہوا۔
سنہ ۱۰۰٤ ھ تک درس دیتے رہے۔ انتقال ہونے پر برہانپور
میں شاہ محمد عیسی جند اللہ کے احاطے میں دفن ہوئے۔

۸— آپکے درس میں بڑی دلکشی تھی۔ تجوید و قرات و
حدیث کا بڑا شوق تھا ایلچپور میں آپنے بہت سے قاری و محدث
چھوڑے۔

قاری شیخ قاسم سندھی

۹ــ شیخ قاسم بن شیخ یوسف شیخ طاہر محمد محدث کیے چھوٹیے بھائی تھیے - اپنیے برادر کلان سے علوم و تجوید و قراءت سیکھی. اون ھی کے ھمراہ ایلچپور آئیے . عماد شاھی مدرسے میں درس دیتیے رھے . سندھی محلیے میں سکونت رھی . آپکو دو بیٹے کے یہاں پیدا ھوئیے . سنہ ۹٦٢ ھ میں شیخ عیسی جنداللہ . اور سنہ ۹٦٦ ھ میں شیخ سلیمان سیفی . سنہ ۹۸۱ ھ میں بمقام ایلچپور انتقال ھوا . وھیں دفن ھوئیے . آپ نہایت تقوی شعار ، عبادت گذار اور متوکل تھیے . شیخ طاھر محمد محدث فرمایا کرتیے تھیے کہ « میرے بھائی شیخ قاسم کا مشرب صوفیانہ تھا . اونکی دلاویز گفتار اور پسندیدہ اطوار سے اخیار و ابرار کی علامتین ظاھر تھین - »[1]

شیخ القراء حافظ ملا اسمعیل ایلچپوری

۱۰ــ مدرسہ عماد شاھی کے ایك بابرکت استاد تجوید ملا محمد اسمعیل تھیے - یہہ عمدہ قاری اور بیے مثل حافظ تھیے . مشہور تھا کہ جو آپ سے پڑھتا وہ جید حافظ و قاری ھوجاتا . صاحب تذکرۂ اولیائیے سندھ آپکی تعریف مین لکھتیے ھیں کہ « اوس عہد میں تعلیم قران پاك کی فیض رسانی میں ثانی نہیں رکھتیے تھیے . آپنیے مدرسہ عماد شاھی میں تقریباً بائیس سال یعنیے سنہ ۹٦۰ ھ سے سنہ ۹۸۱ ھ تك خدمت انجام دی . آپنیے شیخ عیسی جنداللہ کو نو سال کی عمر میں اچھا قاری و حافظ بناديا » . جنکا ذکر بعد ازین آئیگا . تفال خان

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(۱) ملاحظہ ھو تذکرہ اولیائیے سندھ از سید محمد مطیع اللہ ارشد .

کے بعد بھی یہہ قاری صاحب ایلچپور ھی میں رھے اور وھیں تاعمر خدمت تجوید انجام دی ۔ آپکیے شاگردونکا ذکر بعد ازین آئیگا ۔ آپکی قبر کا پتہ نہ چلا ۔ البتہ ایك قبر فرمان پورہ میں لب سڑك ھے جو محمد اسمعیل کی قبر ھے ۔ اور ایك صاحب کشف بزرگ نے اونکی مزار پر مراقب ھوکر کہا تھا کہ یہہ بہت بڑے آدمی ھیں ۔ مگر یہہ محمد اسمعیل وھی ھیں یا دوسرے میں کہہ نہیں سکتا ۔

قاری حافظ مولانا شیخ طیب سندھی

۱۱— شیخ طیب ابن شیخ مخدوم ھارونی ۔ وطن سندھ شیخ مخدوم سندھ کے مشہور علماء میں سے تھے ۔ مولانا غوثی لکھتے ھیں کہ شیخ مخدوم کی ذات سے سندھ کی زمین روشن تھی ۔ تمام اطراف و اکناف اونکی اولاد اور شاگردون سے منور ھے ۔ تجوید و قراءت میں لاثانی تھے ۔ اونکے فرزند شیخ طیب نے والد سے تجوید و علم حاصل کیا ۔ مگر جب سندھ کی حالت ابتر ھوئی تو سندھ سے احمدآباد آئے ۔ وھاں سے شہر ایلچپور جہاں اونکے دوست محمد طاھر محدث پہلے سے مدرسہ عماد شاھی میں درس دیا کرتے تھے ۔ محمد طاھر نے آپکو بھی مدرسے میں درس و تدریس میں لگادیا ۔ صاحب تذکرہ اولیائے سندھ لکھتے ھیں کہ شیخ طیب اپنے نامور و عالم و فاضل والد کی خدمت میں اعلی علوم سے فارغ ھونیکے بعد حضرت ملا یونس مفتی کی شاگردی سے فیض یاب ھوئے ۔ نہ صرف آپ حافظ و قاری و عالم بے بدل ھونیکے اعتبار سے خود فیض یافتہ تھے بلکہ اپنے سرچشمہ علوم سے طالبان

فضل وکمال کو سیراب کرنے میں دریغ نہ فرماتے» - چنانچہ مسیح الاولیا شیخ عیسی جنداللہ فقہ و کلام میں آپکے شاگرد ھیں۔ زوال خاندان عماد شاھی کے بعد آپ بھی برھان پور چلے گئے۔ جہاں پندرہ سال تك درس و تدریس میں مصروف رھکر سنہ ۱۰۰۰ ھ میں انتقال کیا - شیخ ابراھیم ابن عمر کے حظیرے میں دفن ھوئے۔

شیخ القراء حافظ شیخ عیسی جنداللہ قاری سبعہ

۱۲ — شیخ عیسی جنداللہ ابن شیخ قاسم بمقام ایلچپور (برار) ۵ ذی الحجہ سنہ ۹۶۲ ھ بروز یکشنبہ پیدا ھوئے - ذکی و زود فہم تھے مذھبی تعلیم کے ماحول میں آنکھ کھولی - جہاں جید علما و قراء و محدث جمع تھے - ملا حافظ قاری محمد اسمعیل سے قران مجید باتجوید کا حفظ نوسال کی عمر میں کرلیا - دوسرے استاد اونکے چچا شیخ طاھر محمد محدث تھے - والد کے انتقال کے بعد بیسویں سال چچا کے همراہ سنہ ۹۸۲ ھ میں برھان پور پہونچے - قاری سبعہ حکیم محمد عثمان بوبکانی سے قرات سبعہ کی تکمیل کی - پھر قاری شیخ ابراھیم کو سناکر اون سے سند لی - ریاضات و مجاھدات میں کوئی دقیقہ نہ چھوڑا - آپکی شہرت دور دور پھیل گئی - صاحب کرامات بزرگ تھے - قرآن مجید سے خاص شغف تھا - اوسپر تدبر میں بڑا انہماك تھا - جید حافظ و بے بدل قاری تھے متعدد تفسیریں درساً درساً پڑھی تھیں - خود بھی ایك لا جواب تفسیر انوارالاسرار لکھی تھی - تلاوت و سماعت کا یہہ ذوق تھا کہ ھر روز بعد نماز عصر مسجد میں بیٹھ جاتے - اکثر حفاظ و قراء حاضر رھتے -

اول ایک رکوع آپ تلاوت فرماتے پھر کوئی اور قاری غرض ایک
ایک رکوع کا دور مغرب تک جاری رہتا - یہہ معمول آپکے نظام
الاوقات میں اس پابندی سے داخل تھا کہ اوسمیں سرمو فرق نہ آتا.
۱۵ شوال سنہ ۱۰۳۱ ھ مطابق ۳۱ اگسٹ سنہ ۱۶۲۲ ع کو
برھانپور میں انتقال ہوا مقبرہ پختہ ھے مزار پر گنبد بھی ھے -
کسی شاعر نے آپکی مدح میں یہہ شعر کہا ھے [1]

دو عیسی ست فرخندہ در نسل آدم
یکے ابن قاسم دوم ابن مریم

قاری حافظ محمد حسن ایلچپوری

۱۳ — مدرسہ عماد شاھی نے جو قراء بنائے اونکا سلسلہ دور
تک چلتا ھے مگر ھم کو دو نام خاص طور سے ملتے ھیں ان میں
سے ایک قاری محمد حسن تھے - یہ شہر ایلچپور میں تقریباً سنہ ۱۰۱۵ھ
میں پیدا ہوے علوم عربی و فارسی و قراءت میں امتیاز رکھتے تھے
خوش الحانی سے قرآن شریف پڑھا کرتے - حفظ کی بھی تکمیل کی
تھی - آپنے ایک ممتاز شاگرد بی بی مکھن کو حفظ و قراءت نیز
عربی و فارسی کی تعلیم دی - بی بی مکھن کا ذکر آئندہ آئیگا -
بی بی مکھن پر اونکی تعلیم و تربیت کا جو اثر ہوا اوسکی وجہ
سے بی بی مکھن اونکی بڑی تعظیم و تکریم کرنے لگیں قاری

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(۱) تاریخ برھانپور از خلیل الرحمن - مضمون شیخ فرید
لکچرار در معارف ستمبر سنہ ۱۹۵۶ء - و تذکرہ اولیائے سندہ از
سید محمد مطیع اللہ ارشد -

صاحب کا جب انتقال سنه ۱۰۹۰ ھ میں ھوا تو بی بی مکھن نے اونکی قبر پختہ بنوادی ۔ اور وصیت کی کہ اونکو بھی قاری صاحب کے بازو دفن کیا جائیے ۔ شاہ عبدالرحمن غازی کی درگاہ میں دفن ھوئے مگر اب مزار کا پتہ نہیں ملتا ۔[1]

قاری حافظ شیخ حسین ایلچپوری

۱۴— مولد ایلچپور ولادت تقریباً سنه ۱۰۳۰ ھ حفظ و قراءت کی تکمیل لڑکپن میں کی ۔ قاری حاجی شاہ عبداللہ عرف بھکاجی کی خدمت میں حاضر ھوتے رہے ۔ زاھد و متقی تھے ۔ شاہ عبداللہ صاحب نے اپنی لڑکی کا عقد اون سے کردیا ۔ ایک عرصے تک درس و تدریس میں لگے رہے ۔ تجوید و قراءت کی اچھی خدمت انجام دی ۔ قاری محمد حسن بھی آپکے ھم عصر تھے ۔ تقریباً سنه ۱۱۰۵ھ میں انتقال ھوا ۔ شاہ عبدالرحمن غازی کی درگاہ میں قاری حافظ محمد حسن کی قبر کے پاس دفن ھوئے مگر اب مزار کا پتہ نہیں ملتا ۔

قاری حاجی شاہ عبداللہ ایلچپوری

۱۵— قطب خان شہر مانڈو میں دارالضرب کے داروغہ تھے فقرا دوست اور بزرگوں کی صحبت میں رھا کرتے تھے ۔ ملازمت چھوڑ کر مرشد کی تلاش میں نکلے تا آنکہ ایک بزرگ کامل مل گئے اون کے مرید ھوکر ھدایت و تلقین میں لگے رہے سنه ۹۹۹ ھ میں وفات پائی ۔ مانڈو میں دفن ھیں ۔ اونکے فرزند شاہ عبداللہ عرف بھکاجی

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(۱) ملاحظہ ھو نور العنایت المعروف بہ تذکرہ پاک، مرتبہ سید نور المقتدی ابن حافظ انور المھتدی اورنگ آبادی (قلمی)

قادری سنہ ۹۹۰ ھ میں پیدا ہوئے۔ مانڈو ھی میں تعلیم و تربیت پوری ہوئی۔ وطن سے حج کیلئے روانہ ہوئے ایک سال تک مکہ معظمہ میں قیام کرکے مدینہ منورہ چلے گئے۔ وہاں تجوید و قرات کی بھی تکمیل کی۔ مدینہ منورہ سے ہر سال حج کے وقت مکہ معظمہ آجاتے۔ اسطرح ۲۱ حج کئے وہاں سے حسب ایمائے حضور اکرم جہانگیر کے زمانے میں برہان پور آئے۔ شاہ فضل اللہ کی خدمت میں رھکر اون سے بیعت ہوئے۔ پھر آپ برہان پور سے ایلچپور آئے جہاں بڑی مقبولیت ہوئی۔ عوام کے اصرار پر وہیں سکونت پذیر ہوئے۔ شیخ زین تاجر کی دختر سے نکاح کیا۔ عالمگیر نے موضع قاصد پورہ بطور انعام دیا۔ آپکی اولاد میں دو فرزند اور ایک دختر تھیں۔ بڑے فرزند کا نام بھی عبداللہ تھا۔ دوسرے کا نام عبدالقادر لڑکی کا عقد عارف کامل قاری حافظ شیخ حسین سے ہوا۔ اس طرح تجوید و قرات کا سلسلہ اس خاندان میں ایک عرصے تک رہا۔

۱۶ — شیخ عبدالقادر فرزند دوم کے کئی فرزند تھے اونمیں سے دو مشہور ہوئے (۱) شیخ عبدالرسول (۲) شیخ شکراللہ (۳) اور ایک لڑکی بی بی مکھن تھیں جو بڑی اچھی قاریہ حافظہ تھیں جنکا تفصیلی ذکر متعاقب آئیگا۔ شاہ عبداللہ صاحب کا انتقال سنہ ۱۰۸۰ ھ میں ہوا۔ ایلچپور میں دفن ہوئے۔ مزار پر بڑی گنبد ھے عرس بھی ہر سال ہوتا ھے۔ شجرہ یہہ ھے

قطب خان مانڈوی (وفات سنه ۹۹۹ھ)

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قاری حاجی شاه عبدالله (ولادت سنه ۹۹۰ھ وفات سنه ۱۰۸۰ھ)

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شیخ عبدالله (ولادت سنه ۱۰۳۰ھ)	شیخ عبدالقادر (ولادت سنه ۱۰۳۲)	دختر (ولادت سنه ۱۰۳۵ھ) = زوجه قاری حافظ شیخ حسین (ولادت سنه ۱۰۳۰ھ وفات سنه ۱۱۰۵ھ)

شیخ عبدالرسول (ولادت سنه ۱۰۵۰ھ)	شیخ شکرالله (ولادت سنه ۱۰۵۲ھ)	بی‌بی مکهن ولادت سنه ۱۰۵۵ھ وفات سنه ۱۱۴۰ھ استاذ قاری حافظ محمد حسن سنه ۱۰۹۰ھ

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بنت شکر الله = سید منیب الله بالاپوری (ولادت سنه ۱۰۹۰ھ)

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سید نجیب الله (سنه ۱۱۱۶ھ - ۱۱۵۶ھ)	سید محمد قمرالدین (سنه ۱۱۲۳ھ - ۱۱۹۳ھ)	سید شمس‌الدین سنه ۱۱۲۸ھ - ۱۱۷۲ھ

قاری حافظ نورالهدی	قاری حاجی نور العلی	قاری نور المصطفی	قاری سید میران

قاریه حافظه بی بی مکهن ایلچپوری

۱۷ — بی بی مکهن بنت عبدالقادر ابن شاه عبدالله عرف بهکاجی کامولد ایلچپور (علاقه برار) تها ۔ سنه ۱۰۵۵ ه میں پیدا هوئیں چونکه دادا اور والد دونوں عالم و فاضل و سلسله قادریه کے چشم و چراغ تهے بی بی مکهن کو بهی حصول علم کا شوق هوا ۔ وقت کے ایك ممتاز قاری و حافظ محمد حسن سے جمله علوم کی تحصیل کی ۔ حفظ و تجوید کی تکمیل کے بعد عربی و فارسی حدیث و فقه کی تعلیم حاصل کی ۔ رات ودن تلاوت میں مصروف رهتیں ۔ زاهده عابده تهیں چونکه خوش الحان تهیں قراءت میں دلاویزی تهی ۔

۱۸ — بی بی مکهن کی شادی ایك جاگیردار سے هوئی ۔ جو نو باغ کے مالك تهے کچھ عرصے کے بعد جاگیردار صاحب کا انتقال هوگیا تو جاگیر کے حصه میں نوباغ اونکو ملا ۔ جسکی آمدنی خاصی تهی ۔ بی بی مکهن بڑی فریس و سمجهدار خاتون تهیں ۔ اپنے بهائی شکرالله کی لڑکی کو اپنی پرورش میں لے لیا ۔ اوسکی تعلیم و تربیت کا بڑا اهتمام کیا ۔ جب وه سن شعور کو پهونچی تو شاه عنایت الله صاحب بالاپوری کوخط لکها که مینے ایك یتیم لڑکی کی پرورش وتربیت به احسن الوجوه کی هے ۔ آپ بهی اوس لڑکی کی زندگی سنوارنے میں مدد فرمائیے وه اس طرح که اپنے لڑکے سید منیب الله سے اوسکا عقد کردیجئے اور منیب الله کو یهه اجازت بهی هو که وه میری جاگیر کا انتظام بهی اپنے هاتھ میں لیں ۔ شاه عنایت الله صاحب راضی هوگئے اور یهه رشته قائم هوگیا ۔ قاری منیب الله کو تین فرزند هوئے ۔

بی بی مکھن نے تینوں کی تعلیم و تربیت ۔ نیز تجوید و قراءت
سکھلانے میں بڑی کوشش کی چنانچہ یہہ تینوں اونچے درجے
کے عالم و قاری و متقی ہوئے جنکا تفصیلی ذکر بعد میں آئے گا ۔

۱۹ — بی بی مکھن کے پاس چالیس خادمائین تھیں اونکو بھی روزے
اور نماز کا پابند بنادیا تھا ۔ بعض کو تجوید کی تعلیم بھی دی تھی
بی بی مکھن ان خادماؤنکے ساتھ اپنے گھر میں پنج وقتہ نماز
باجماعت ادا کرتین ۔ ماہ صیام میں روزونکے اہتمام کے ساتھ
با جماعت تراویح کا بھی انتظام ہوتا ۔ بی بی مکھن امامت کرتیں
اور پورا قران شریف سناتیں بعض وقت فرط محبت سے خادماؤں
سے کہتیں « دیکھوری ! اگر خداوند کریم نے مجھے بخشیدیا تو
تاوقتیکہ تم سب جنت میں داخل نہوں میں جنت میں قدم نہ رکھوں
گی » یہہ سب خادمائین روزانہ تلاوت کی عادی تھیں ۔ گھر میں
ہر طرف قران مجید کی آواز سنائی دیتی ۔ بی بی مکھن کی عمر
۸۵ سال کی ہوئی ۔ پچاس سال صائم الدھر اور قائم اللیل رھکر
تلاوت و اوراد میں صرف کئے ۔ درس قرآن و حدیث بھی دیا
کرتیں وفات سے قریب بی بی فاطمہ کو خواب میں دیکھا کہ فرماتی
ھیں کہ میرے پاس آؤ اور میرے دامن میں نماز پڑھو ۔ اسوقت
سے عقبی کی دھن زیادہ ہوگئی ۔ وفات ٦ صفر سنہ ۱۱٤۰ ھ بروز
یکشنبہ ہوئی ۔ حسب وصیت وفات کے بعد قاری حافظ محمد حسن
اور قاری حافظ شیخ حسینؒ کے پاس دفن کی گئیں ۔ شاہ عبدالرحمن
غازی کی درگاہ میں تین زبردست مجدد دین و حفاظ یعنے قاری

حافظ محمد حسن ۔ قاری حافظ شیخ حسین اور قاریہ حافظہ بی بی مکھن ایک ہی جگہ دفن ہیں[1] ۔ مینے کوشش کی کہ ان قراء کی قبرونکا پتہ چلاے مگر مجھے کامیابی نہ ہوئی ۔ اسوقت ایلچپور میں کوئی نہیں بتاسکتا کہ یہہ قبور کہاں ہیں ۔ حالانکہ بی بی مکھن کی جائیداد نو باغ کے دعویدار پندرہ سال پہلے تک اپنے وراثتی حقوق کی بناء پر جائیداد کیلئے مقدمہ بازی کرتے رہے ۔

قاری عبدالحلیم شاہ بھنڈاری

۲۰ــ سلسلہ قادریہ کے یہہ بزرگ علاقہ برار میں بہت فیض رساں رہے ۔ جہانگیر کے زمانے میں بالاپور علاقہ برار میں کچھ عرصہ قیام رہا ۔ وہاں سے انکلے سر (بھڑوغ) جاکر اقامت اختیار کی ۔ اونکے فرزند سید شاہ محمود بالاپور میں مقیم رہے ۔ باپ و بیٹے کو قران مجید سے بڑا شغف تھا ۔ عبدالحلیم شاہ ایک قلمی حمائل اپنے ساتھ رکھتے تھے جسکی تقطیع ۸ انچ X ۵ انچ کی ہے ۔ جسکی جدول مطلا و مذہب ہے ۔ سنہ ۵۰۵ھ میں قرطبہ میں اوسکی کتابت ہوئی تھی اب یہہ حمائل حضرت کے سلسلے کے سجادہ نشین سید محمود علی صاحب جاگیردار بن سید غلام علی ابن سید غلام محی الدین کے پاس انکلے سر میں ہے ۔ حضرت کا مزار ایک پرفضا مقام پر ایک گنبد کے اندر انکلے سر میں ہے ۔ مجھے بھی فاتحہ خوانی کا موقعہ ملا ہے ۔

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(۱) ماخوذ از نور العنایت المعروف بہ تذکرہ پاک مرتبہ نور المقتدی ابن حافظ نور المقتدی اورنگ آبادی (قلمی)

۲۱— آپکے فرزند سید شاہ محمود کا مزار بالا پور میں ھے۔ اونکے پاس بھی ایک خوش خط قلمی قران مجید تھا۔ جو آج تک اونکے خاندان میں چلا آتا ھے۔ اس نسخے کی خصوصیت یہ ھے کہ ہرسطر الف سے شروع ھوتی ھے۔ اسی قلم کا ایک نسخہ جو اسی سائز اور اسی کاتب کا معلوم ھوتا ھے۔ خدا بخش خاں کی لائبریری جدی واقع بانکی‌پور میں محفوظ ھے۔

قاری شاہ عبداللطیف راوی ھفت قرات

۲۲— شاہ جہان کے زمانے میں ایک بزرگ شاہ عبداللطیف جوراوی ھفت قرات تھے۔ تلیے گاؤں دساسر علاقہ برار میں تشریف لائے۔ ایک عرصے تک اس قریہ میں مقیم رھے۔ درس و تدریس میں وقت گذارا۔ آپ خوشنویس بھی تھے قران مجید کا مطلا نسخہ اپنے ھاتھ سے لکھا۔ جسکی لمبائی ۲٤ انچ X چوڑائی ۱۲ انچ ھے اس پر ایک حاشیہ قرات سبعہ کا ھے اور دوسرا تفسیر کا۔ روایت ھے کہ یہی نسخہ آپکے زیر تلاوت رھتا تھا۔ شاہ صاحب کے دو شاگرد تھے اونمیں سے ایک شاہ جلال تھے۔ جنکی اولاد اب درگاہ کی مجاوری کرتی ھے۔ شاہ عبداللطیف کا انتقال اورنگزیب کے زمانے میں ھوا تلیے گاؤن دساسر میں ایک گنبد کے اندر مزار ھے۔ سبعہ کے حاشیے والا نسخہ قرآن شریف بھی مزار پر رکھا ھوا ھے۔ جسکی اھمیت سے بہت کم لوگ واقف ھیں۔

قاری سید حسین ایلچپوری

۲۳— فرمان پورہ شہر ایلچپور میں قاری سید حسین رھتے تھے شہر میں آپکی قرات کی بڑی شہرت تھی۔ درس و تدریس میں زیادہ وقت صرف کرتے تھے خوشحال زندگی گزاری۔ اورنگ

زیب کے آخری زمانے میں فرمان پورے میں ایک خوشنما مسجد کی بنا ڈالی . اوسکا سقف لکڑی کا ھے مگر خوش طرز و مستحکم مسجد کے صحن میں ایک حوض بھی ھے جسکی آبیاری بعد ازان ایک نہر سے کیگئی جو صلابت خان لائے تھے . اسی مسجد کے ایک جانب قاری صاحب دفن ہوئے . یہہ مسجد مسجد قاضی کے نام سے مشہور ہوئی .[1]

قاری حافظ دراب خان ایلچپوری

۲۴ــ قاصدپورہ شہر ایلچپور میں ایک مسجد قصابان کے نام سے مشہور ھے اسمیں قاری حافظ شہامت خان امامت کرتے تھے . اونکے بعد اونکے فرزند حافظ حیات خان اس مسجد مین قران سناتے رھے اونکے بعد اونکے فرزند حافظ قاری دراب خان قران مجید سنانے لگے . یہہ خوش نویس بھی تھے . تیس ورق میں ایک قران شریف لکھا ھے . مسور کی دال کے دانے پر پوری قل ھو اللہ مع بسم اللہ لکھا کرتے تھے .

شیخ القراء سید شاہ عنایت اللہ بالا پوری

۲۵ــ سید شاہ عنایت اللہ ابن سید محمد ابن الحداد (الہ داد) ابن سید موسی ابن شاہ ظہیر الدین . آخری حد خجند سے آکر ایمن آباد (لاہور) میں متوطن ہوئے . سید شاہ عنایت اللہ لاہور میں پیدا ہوئے . بچپن میں تجوید و قرات وعلوم متداولہ سے فارغ ہوے خوشنویسی بھی سیکھی . مرشد کی تلاش میں برہانپور آئے . شیخ ابوالمظفر صوفی نقشبندی سے بیعت کی . سنہ ۱۰۵۹ ھ میں بالاپور آئے . اونکے بھائی قاری مولانا محمد سعید بھی ساتھ تھے . دونون

(۱) تاریخ امجدی از خطیب امجد حسین ایلچپوری .

بھائیون نے درس و تدریس کا سلسلہ شروع کیا ۔ بعض لوگون نے
عالمگیر بادشاہ کو حضرت سے بدظن کردیا ۔ تو آپکی طلبی دھلی
ہوئی ۔ آپ سنہ ۱۰۹۰ھ میں تشریف لیگئے ۔ جب خواجہ معصوم
کو اسکی اطلاع ہوئی تو بادشاہ سے سفارش و تعریف کی ۔ بادشاہ
اعزاز و اکرام سے پیش آیا تحفہ جات دیئے جنکو حضرت نے نہایت
انکساری سے قبول نہ فرمایا ۔ واپس آ کر بالاپور میں خدمت خلق
کرتے رھے ۔ آپکو تجوید و قراءت سے بیحد شغف تھا رسم الخط قرانی
کے اچھے ماہر تھے خوشنویس ہونے کی وجہ سے اٹھارہ قران
شریف اپنے هاتھ سے لکھے ۔

۲۶ — حضرت بڑے متشرع اور اوقات و وظائف کے پابند تھے
سلسلہ نقشبندیہ کی تلقین دیتے رھتے ۔ کثرت سے لوگ مرید ہوئے ۔
نماز باجماعت کبھی قضا نہ کی ۔ مرنے سے پہلے جب اٹھنے
سے بالکل معذور ہوگئے تو تیمم سے نماز ادا کی ۔ فرزندوں اور
مریدون کو بلا کر کہا کہ تلقین و تعلیم میں تو عمر ھی گذری ۔ اب
وقت آخر ھے سب بیٹھکر تھوڑا تھوڑا قران شریف بلند آواز سے
پڑھین ۔ مجھپر ایک سفید چادر سر سے پاون تک ڈال دیجائے ۔
چنانچہ ایساھی کیا گیا ۔ پھر کہا کہ تم تلاوت شروع کرو «من
بخدائے خود مشغول می شوم» سب قراء باری باری سے تلاوت
مین مشغول ہوئے تھوڑی دیر کے بعد ایک ھلکی سی حرکت
چادر پر محسوس ہوئی ۔ اور پھر سکوت ۔ مردان خدا کی زندگی
ایسی ہوتی ھے اور ایسی موت ۔ سنہ ۱۱۱۷ھ میں وفات ہوئی ۔
بالاپور میں دفن ہوئے ۔ مزار ایک پر فضا مقام پر واقع ھے ۔[1]

(۱) ملفوظات عنایت اللٰھی از شمس الدین ۔ نور العنایت از
نور المقتدی ۔ تاریخ امجدی از امجد حسین خطیب و اولیائے دکن از
عبدالجبار آصفی ۔

شجرہ نسب اس طرح ھے :—

سید محمد

حافظ قاری شاہ عنایت اللہ
وفات سنہ ۱۱۱۷ھ

قاری مولانا محمد سعید

قاری محب اللہ
وفات سنہ ۱۱۱۹ھ

قاری منیب اللہ
وفات سنہ ۱۱۶۱ھ

قاری مبین اللہ
وفات سنہ ۱۱۶۸ھ

قاری سید معصوم
وفات سنہ ۱۱۴۱ھ

قاری امام الدین
سنہ ۱۱۶۵ھ

قاری ظہیر الدین
سنہ ۱۱۹۸ھ

قاری سید شمس الدین
سنہ ۱۱۵۶ھ

حافظ قاری قمر الدین
سنہ ۱۱۹۳ھ

قاری مجیب اللہ
سنہ ۱۱۷۲ھ

قاری ابو الوفا

حافظ قاری ابو البقا

قاری سید میران

قاری حافظ نور الهدی
سنہ ۱۲۰۳ھ

قاری حاجی نور العلی
سنہ ۱۲۳۳ھ

قاری نور المصطفے
سنہ ۱۲۳۰ھ

قاری مولانا محمد سعید

۲۷ — محمد سعید ابن سید محمد ۔ شاہ عنایت اللہ کے چھوٹے بھائی لاھور میں پیدا ھوئے ۔ و ھین تعلیم و تربیت ھوئی تجوید و قراءت و علوم متداولہ لاھور ھی میں سیکھے ۔ بڑے اچھے عالم تھے بھائی کے ھمراہ برھانپور اور وھان سے بالاپور آئے بھائی کے بچون کی تعلیم و تربیت میں بڑا حصہ لیا ۔ سب کو اچھا قاری و عالم بنادیا ۔ شاہ عنایت اللہ کی وفات کے بعد سنہ ۱۱۲۵ھ میں انتقال ھوا ۔ بھائی کے بازو دفن ھوئے ۔

قاری سید محب اللہ بالاپوری

۲۸ — مولد بالاپور ۔ ابن قاری حافظ عنایت اللہ ۔ ولادت سنہ ۱۰۷۵ھ ۔ قران و قراءت کی تعلیم اپنے چچا قاری مولانا محمد سعید سے حاصل کی خوش الحان قاری ھوئے ۔ علوم متداولہ چچا اور والد سے سیکھے ۔ قاضی سیف اللہ بالاپوری سے خوش خطی سیکھ کر اچھے خطاط بن گئے ۔ اپنے والد ھی سے بیعت ھوئے ۔ بڑے مودب اور خدمت گذار تھے ۔ برار اور اورنگ آباد مین آپ سے فیض جاری ھوا ٤٤ سال کی عمر میں سنہ ۱۱۱۹ھ میں وفات پائی ۔ بالاپور میں والد کے قریب دفن ھوئے تین لڑکے قاری ظھیرالدین (۲) قاری امام الدین (۳) اور قاری سید معصوم چھوڑے ۔

قاری منیب اللہ بالاپوری

۲۹ — مولد بالاپور ـ ولادت سنہ ۱۰۸۳ھ شاہ عنایت اللہ کے منجھلے صاحب زادے ـ اپنے والد اور چچا سے قران و علوم درسیہ حاصل کئے ـ عم بزرگوار سے تجوید و قراءت سیکھی ـ علوم ظاہری و باطنی والد ماجد و علمائے برہانپور خصوصاً مولوی نجم الدین سے حاصل کئے ـ صاحب نور العنایت لکھتے ہیں کہ منیب اللہ علوم ظاہری میں علامہ روزگار تحریر و تقریر میں بے نظیر ـ علوم باطنی میں آفتاب منیر و درویش روشن ضمیر ـ اخلاق کی مجسم تصویر تھے ـ ہمیشہ خندان و شگفتہ رو رہتے تھے ـ خوشی وغمی دونوں آپکے نزدیک برابر تھے ـ کبھی چین بہ جبین نہوتے ـ آپکے اوصاف سے متاثر ہوکر بی بی مکھن ایلچپوری نے آپکو اپنی بھانجی بیاہی ـ تین لڑکے (۱) محب اللہ (۲) قمر الدین (۳) شمس الدین پیدا ہوئے ـ سنہ ۱۱۳۲ھ میں بیوی کا انتقال ہوگیا مگر بی بی مکھن کے اصرار پر اونکی حیات تک یعنے سنہ ۱۱۴۰ھ تک آپ ایلچپور میں رہے اور بی بی مکھن کی جائیداد کا انتظام کرتے رہے ـ بی بی مکھن کی وفات کے بعد رشتہ دارون میں تقسیم ورثہ پر جھگڑے شروع ہوگئے تو قاری صاحب پریشان ہوکر اورنگ آباد چلے گئے ـ وہان درس و تدریس کا کام جاری کیا ـ سنہ ۱۱۶۱ھ میں بالاپور میں وفات ہوئی ـ خاندانی قبرستان میں دفن ہوئے ـ

قاری مبین اللہ ابن عنایت اللہ بالاپوری

۳۰ — مولد بالاپور ـ ولادت سنہ ۱۰۸۵ھ ـ گندمی رنگ قصیر القامت ـ والد ماجد و چچا سے تعلیم و تربیت پائی ـ تجوید

و قراءت کے ماہر تھے علوم باطنی کے اکتساب میں مشقت و عبادت میں ریاضت شاقه اٹھاتے رہے ۔ زہد و تقوی میں فرید تھے برادر بزرگ سے بھی استفادہ کیا ۔ اونکے انتقال کے بعد سنه ۱۱۱۹ھ میں شمالی ہندوستان کا سفر کیا ۔ دہلی میں بارہ سال قیام کیا ۔ علماء کی خدمت میں حاضر ہوتے تھے ۔ بہادر شاہ نے تعلقه ملکاپور جاگیر میں عطا کیا تھا ۔ جہاندار شاہ بھی آپ سے ارادت و عقیدت رکھتا تھا ۔ سنه ۱۱۳۱ھ میں جدید سند جاگیر حاصل کرکے وطن مالوف کو واپس ہوئے مجردہ زندگی گذاردی ۔ ۲٤ رمضان سنه ۱۱۵۸ھ کو انتقال ہوا ۔ والد ماجد کی قبر کے پاس دفن ہوئے ۔

قاری سید ظہیرالدین ابن محب اللہ

۳۱ — مولد بالاپور ۔ ولادت سنه ۱۱۰۵ھ ۔ شیخ مظفر صوفی نقشبندی برہانپوری نے آپکے والد کو بشارت دی تھی که فرزند جلیل القدر پیدا ہوگا ۔ اسلئے والد آپکی ولادت پر بہت بشاش و شکر گذار تھے ۔ دس سال کی عمر میں قرآن ختم کیا ۔ قراءت دادا اور والد سے سیکھی ابتدائے عمر سے تقوی پسند تھے سنه ۱۱۳۱ھ میں حج و زیارت سے مشرف ہوئے ۔ مدینه منورہ میں مولانا عبدالکریم سے حدیث کی سند لی ۔ برہانپور واپس آئے ۔ وہاں سے ایلچپور جاکر اپنے چچا قاری منیب اللہ سے ملے ۔ ایلچپور سے بالاپور آکر قیام کیا ۔ سنه ۱۱۳۹ھ میں دوبارہ مع عیال و اطفال حج کیلئے روانه ہوئے ۔ والدہ وبھائیوں کو بھی ساتھ لیگئے حج سے فارغ

ہوکر یمن گئے۔ وہاں شیخ زین الدین کے فرزند شاہ عبدالخالق سے جبہ و کلاہ لیکر بالاپور آئے۔ یہاں بیمار ہوگئے علاج کیلئے اورنگ آباد گئے۔ سودمند نہوا واپس بالاپور آگئے۔ ۲۲ جمادی الاول سنہ ۱۱۴۱ھ ۳۵ سال کی عمر میں انتقال ہوا خاندانی قبرستان میں دفن ہوئے۔

قاری سید امام الدین ابن محب اللہ

۳۲ — مولد بالاپور۔ ولادت سنہ ۱۱۱۰ھ بسم اللہ دادا نے پڑھائی کتب درسیہ کی تکمیل مولانا ظہیرالدین برادر بزرگ سے ہوئی۔ بھائی کے مرید و خلیفہ ہوئے۔ آپ عالم و فاضل۔ عارف کامل تھے۔ تجوید و قراءت بھی مولانا ظہیرالدین سے سیکھی متشرع و متقی۔ صاحب الجود والکرم۔ سلیم الطبع۔ حلیم الوضع۔ مہمان نواز تھے۔ جب تک مہمانوں کو نہ کھلالیتے۔ خود نہ کھاتے تھے درس کا سلسلہ بھی جاری کیا۔ ۷ ذی قعد، سنہ ۱۱۶۵ھ میں ۵۵ سال کی عمر میں انتقال ہوا۔ مولانا ظہیرالدین کی قبر کے مقابلے میں دفن ہوئے۔

قاری حافظ شاہ غلام حسین ایلچپوری

۳۳ — مالی پورہ کے متصل پھیدانی پورہ شہر ایلچپور میں آپکی خانقاہ و مسجد ابتک یادگار ہیں۔ شاہ غلام حسین اچھے قاری و حافظ تھے۔ آپکی مسجد میں تراویح میں قران مجید خوش الحانی سے پڑھا جاتا۔ ۲۷ رمضان کو شبینہ کا بھی خاص اہتمام ہوتا۔ آپکی وفات کے بعد عرصہ دراز تک اس مسجد میں شبینہ

هوتا رها ۔ آپ خوشنویس بهی تهے ۔ نیز فارسی میں شعر کہا کرتے تهے ۔ آپکے متعلق تاریخ امجدی کے مصنف لکھتے ہین که «شاه غلام حسین فرد زمانه ۔ و مردیگانه ۔ از اولیائے کامل ۔ حافظ بے نظیر ۔ از مشائخ لاثانی ۔ و خطاط خوش رقم صاحب تصرف و کرامات ۔ مرتاض ۔ صاحب زهد و تقوی ۔ تارک الدنیا ۔ و شاعر فارسی بوده است » ۔ شاه صاحب کا انتقال سنه ۱۱۹۳ھ میں هوا ۔ خانقاه هی میں دفن هوئے جہاں اب اور تین قبرین هیں ۔ ایك شاه غلام حسین کے مرشد شاه اسمعیل کی ۔ دوسری شاه غلام حسین کے والد کی ۔ اور دونون قبرونکے درمیان میں تیسری قبر قاری حافظ محمد اعظم ابن سید محمد خلیل خطیب همشیر زاده شاه غلام حسین کی هے ۔ یهه لڑکا کم عمری میں اچها حافظ و قاری و خوش نویس هو گیا ۔ خوبرو و خوبصورت تها ۔ بهت ذهین و هونهار ۔ مگر اٹهاره سال کی عمر میں انتقال کر گیا ۔

قاری حافظ سید معصوم ابن محب الله

۳٤ — پورانام سید مجدالدین عرف خواجه معصوم ۔ مولد بالاپور ولادت سنه ۱۱۱۶ھ ۔ شاه عنایت الله نے کان میں اذان کہی ۔ مولانا ظهیرالدین برادر بزرگ سے کتب درسیه پڑهین ۔ حفظ کی تکمیل کی تجوید و قرات بهی اپنے بڑے بهائی اور چچاؤن سے حاصل کی ۔ مولانا ظهیرالدین کے مرید و خلیفه هوئے ۔ سنه ۱۱۶۹ھ میں حج و زیارت سے مشرف هوئے ۔ بیمار والده ساتهه تهین امرنکو پشت پر سوار کراکے ارکان حج ادا کئے ۔ ناز کرتے تهے که هر حاجی

ایک حج کرتا ہے اور میں دو حج ادا کرتا ہون ۔ ایک کعبہ کو سر پر
اٹھا کر دوسرے کعبہ کا طواف کرتا ہون » ۔ حج سے واپسی پر
بالاپور میں قیام کیا ۔ درس و تدریس کا مشغلہ رہا ۔ بالاپور میں
لقوے کا مرض عارض ہوا ۔ اورنگ آباد جا کر علاج کرایا
صحت یاب ہوکر واپس آئے ۔ ۲٦ رجب سنہ ۱۱۹۸ھ میں ۸۸ سال کی
عمر میں وفات پائی بالاپور میں سید امام الدین کی قبر کے پاس
دفن ہوئے ۔ آپکے چار فرزند تھے ۔ (۱) محی الدین ابوالبقا
(۲) شرف الدین ابوالوفا (۳) مجاهد الدین (٤) سید کایم الله چارون
عمدہ قاری و عالم و فاضل تھے ۔

قاری سید مجیب الله ابن منیب الله ایلچپوری

۳۵ — مولد ایلچپور (علاقہ برار) ولادت سنہ ۱۱۱٦ھ اوسوقت
جد امجد بقید حیات تھے ۔ نشو و نما ایلچپور میں ہوا ۔ ابتدائی
تعلیم بی بی مکھن کی نگرانی میں ہوئی ۔ والد سے پھر بی بی مکھن
سے تجوید و قراءت و دیگر علوم درسیہ کی تکمیل کی والد کے
ساتھ ایک مرتبہ اورنگ آباد گئے ۔ وہان شاہ لطف الله ابن عطاء الله
نقشبندی اورنگ آبادی کی دختر سے شادی ہوئی ۔ شادی کے بعد
ایلچپور آ گئے ۔ ایک سال کے بعد زوجہ کا انتقال ہوگیا ۔ سنہ ۱۱٤۱ھ
مین والد کے ساتھ ایلچپور چھوڑ کر اورنگ آباد چلے گئے ۔ وہین
قیام رہا ۔ ۲ ربیع الاول سنہ ۱۱۵٦ھ میں انتقال ہوا ۔ اورنگ آباد
میں بھڑکل کے پاس خاندانی قبرستان میں دفن ہوئے ۔

قاری حافظ حاجی سید قمرالدین ابن منیب الله ایلچپوری

۳٦ — مولد ایلچپور ۔ (علاقہ برار) ولادت سنہ ۱۱۲۳ھ ۔ ابتدائی
تعلیم و تربیت ایلچپور میں بی بی مکھن کی نگرانی میں ہوئی پھر

والد و چچا سے سیکھتے رہے حفظ و قراءت کی تکمیل کی ۔ صاحب نور العنایت آپکو «عالم بے مثل و فاضل بے بدل ۔ و قاری خوش الحان و جید حافظ» سے موسوم فرماتے ہیں سنہ ۱۱۵۵ھ میں دھلی گئے ۔ میرزا مظہر جانجانان آپکی علمی استعداد دیکھکر بڑے خوش ہوئے ہمیشہ احترام سے پیش آتے ۔ دو سال دھلی میں قیام کرنے کے بعد سرھند گئے ۔ پھر لاھور جاکر سنہ ۱۱۵۸ھ میں واپس بالاپور آئے ۔ وھاں سے اورنگ آباد روانہ ھوئے ۔ جہاں قاری غلام حسین صاحب سے ملتے رہے ۔ سنہ ۱۱۷٤ھ میں حج و زیارت کیلئے روانہ ھوئے ۔ پہلے مدینہ منورہ جاکر مکہ معظمہ آئے سنہ ۱۱۷۵ھ میں واپسی ھوئی ۔ بالاپور میں درس و تدریس کا مشغلہ رھا ۔ پھر اورنگ آباد جاکر درس و تدریس کا سلسلہ شروع کیا ۔ سنہ ۱۱۹۳ھ مین اورنگ آباد مین انتقال ھوا ۔ خاندانی قبرستان میں دفن ھوئے ۔ صاحب نورالعنایت آپکو نازش خاندان عنایت اللھی بتلاتے ھیں ۔ آپکو تین لڑکے تھے تینوں اچھے قاری تھے ۔ (۱) قاری حافظ نور الھدی (۲) قاری حاجی نور العلی (۳) قاری نور المصطفے ۔

قاری سید شمس الدین ابن منیب اللہ

۳۷ — مولد ایلچپور (علاقہ برار) ولادت سنہ ۱۱۲۸ھ قران و کتب درسیہ کی تکمیل بی بی مکھن سے کی ۔ تجوید و قراءت بھی پہلے بی بی مکھن سے اور پھر ملا محمد قادری سے سیکھی ۔ ایلچپور سے بالاپور اور وھاں سے اورنگ آباد چلے گئے ۔ ٤٤ سال کی عمر

میں سنہ ۱۱۷۲ھ میں انتقال ہوا ۔ بھڑکل کے پاس خاندانی قبرستان میں دفن ہوئے ۔ ایک لڑکا سید میران سنہ ۱۱۵۷ھ میں پیدا ہوا جو بڑا ہوکر اچھا حافظ و قاری ہوا ۔ بھڑکل کی مسجد میں امامت پر مامور رہا ۔

۳۸ — سید شمس الدین نے ملفوظات عنایت اللهی تدوین کی جسکا قلمی نسخه اس خاندان میں بالاپور میں موجود هے ۔ مینے اس نسخے کو دیکھکر اکثر واقعات بالا کی تصدیق کی هے ۔ خاندانی حالات کا دوسرا قلمی نسخه نور العنایت المعروف به تذکره پاك مولوی نور المقتدی فرزند حافظ نور المهتدی اورنگ آبادی کے پاس هے ۔ جو هنوز غیر مطبوع هے اوس سے بهی اکثر واقعات لئے گئے ۔

قاری حافظ نور الهدی ابن قاری قمرالدین

۳۹ — مولد اورنگ آباد ۔ ولادت سنہ ۱۱۵۳ھ والد سے علوم سیکھے ۔ سوله سال کی عمر میں عالم ہوئے ۔ اٹھاره سال کی عمر میں حفظ و قرات کی تکمیل کی ۔ بیس سال کی عمر میں والد کے ساتھ حج کیا ۔ خوش تقریر و خوش بیان تھے ۔ فن تجوید میں کمال حاصل تھا آپکی شہرت رفته رفته بہت بڑھ گئی ۔ دور دور سے لوگ قرات سننے کے لئے آتے تھے ۔ آپکی وجه سے اورنگ آباد میں بہت سے قاری ہوئے ۔ صاحب گلزار آصفیه لکھتے ھیں که آپ بڑے خوش الحان تھے جب شاہ گنج کی مسجد واقع اورنگ آباد میں تراویح پڑھاتے تھے تو لوگ دور دور سے آپکی

قرات سننے کیلئے آتے تھے اور سنکر زارو قطار روتے تھے ۔ مدھوش ھوکر سر ٹکراتے تھے ۔ سننے والون میں ھندوومسلمان سبھی ھوتے تھے ۔ آپکے والد ماجد قاری قمرالدین باوجود بڑے عمدہ قاری ھونیکے آپکو نماز میں امام کرتے تھے ۔ اور خود مقتدی ھوتے تھے ۔ فرماتے تھے کہ «جسطرح چچا محب اللہ بھائی ظھیرالدین کی امامت سے خوش ھوکر لذت پاتے تھے ۔ اوسی طرح مین بھی نور الھدی کی امامت سے خوش ھوتا ھون اور لذت پاتا ھون ۔ اور جیسا مولانا روم فرماتے تھے کہ میرا فرزند سلطان مجھسے بہتر ھے ویساھی میں کہتا ھون کہ میرا فرزند مجھسے بہتر ھے» ۔

٤٠ — قاری حافظ نور الھدی کے تلامذہ کی تعداد بکثرت تھی اونمین سے اٹھارہ کا شمار بلند پایہ قاریون میں کیا جاتا ھے ۔ ازان جملہ سید مجاھدالدین بالاپوری ۔ و برادر متوسط نور العلی ۔ مولوی محمد صفدر مولوی غلام سعادت ۔ قاضی بندگی امیر حیدر بلگرامی (نبیرہ غلام علی آزاد بلگرامی) تھے ۔

٤١ — سنہ ١٢٠١ھ میں امیر حیدر بلگرامی کو رخصت کرنے برار آئے تھے اوسوقت کچھ دنون کیلئے بالاپور ۔ اور ایلچپور بھی تشریف لیگئے ۔ اوسوقت اھل برار آپ سے مستفید ھوئے ۔ پھر واپس اورنگ آباد چلے گئے ۔ علماء دوست و فقیر نواز تھے ۔ خاکساری اور کسر نفسی میں کمال رکھتے تھے ۔ خندہ رو اور شگفتہ جبین تھے ۔ امیر و فقیر کے ساتھ حسن سلوک فرماتے سنہ ١٢٠٣ھ میں رحلت کی ۔ اورنگ آباد میں والد کے بازو دفن ھوئے ۔ پچاس سال کی عمر تھی دو لڑکے اور ایك لڑکی تھی مگر نسل کسی سے نہ چلی ۔

۴۲ — خاندان شاہ عنایت اللہی میں اور بہت سے قراء ہوئے۔ مگر میںنے یہاں صرف اون ہی قراء کا ذکر کیا جن سے اہل برار کو استفادہ کا موقعہ ملا۔ جو اورنگ آباد میں بس گئے۔ یا جو حیدر آباد آ گئے اونکو نظر انداز کردیا ہے۔

قاری حافظ امام‌الدین ایلچپوری

۴۳ — قاری سید شاہ معصوم فرزند محب اللہ ابن شاہ عنایت اللہ سے استفادہ کرنے والون میں ایک جید قاری اور حافظ امام الدین تھے۔ نیز حکیم محمود حسین خطیب ایلچپوری نے بھی اون سے اکتساب علوم کیا تھا۔ حافظ امام‌الدین صاحب تقریباً سنہ ۱۱۷۰ھ میں پیدا ہوئے اور سنہ ۱۲۳۰ھ میں انتقال کیا۔ اون سے برار کے بہت سے لوگون نے استفادہ کیا۔ اونمین سے ایک قاری حافظ سید اشرف حسین خطیب ایلچپور بھی تھے اون دنون قاری حافظ غلام حسین صاحب کی مسجد میں شبینے اکثر ہوا کرتے تھے جہان جید حافظ و قاری جمع ہوتے تھے۔

قاری حافظ سید اشرف حسین خطیب ایلچپور

۴۴ — والد کا نام سید محمد فقیہ۔ خطیب ایلچپور تھے۔ حافظہ بڑا قوی تھا۔ حافظ قاری امام الدین سے تجوید و حفظ کی تکمیل کی۔ ایک مرتبہ استاد کے ساتھ قاری غلام حسین کی مسجد میں گئے۔ استاد کے ارشاد پر شبینہ سنانے کھڑے ہوگئے۔ چار گھنٹے میں قران مجید پورا سنادیا۔ استاد و جملہ حاضرین نے آفرین کہا۔ مشہور تھا کہ قران سناتے وقت کبھی لقمہ کی ضرورت نہوتی

آپکو خاندان عنایت اللھی سے بڑا ارتباط تھا ۔ اکثر بالاپور جاتے رھتے تھے ۔ سنه ۱۲۷۲ھ میں ایلچپور میں انتقال ھوا ۔

٤٥ — مینے یہاں تیس قاریون کے مختصر حالات بیان کئیے ۔ جنمیں سے اکثر قرائیے خوش الحان ایلچپور و عندلیبان بالاپور کا ذکر تھا ۔ اونکے حالات اور اونکے کام کی مصروفیت سے اسکا پته نہیں چلتا که یهه زمانه برار کیلئیے بدامنی کا تھا ۔ اونکا سکون قلب بتلاتا ھے که اونکو کوئی خوف و پریشانی لاحق نه تھی سچ ھے ۔

جمعیت دل همسر صدلشکر شاهی ست

سامان من بیے سرو سامان چه شناسی

اکثر قراء کے حالات کا مطالعه کرنیے سے اسی کی تصدیق ھوتی ھے که اونکی زندگیان بڑی پرسکون اور اونکی قران سے وابستگی بڑی قوت بخش و سرور آور رھی ھے نیز اونکی موت بھی پرسکون اور عاشقون کی موت معلوم ھوتی ھے ۔

٤٦ — ختم کرنیے سے پہلے ایک بات اور عرض کردون ۔ آپنیے ملاحظه فرمایا که عماد شاھی دور سے لیکر ناصر الدوله کے زمانیه تک یعنیے تین سو سال سے زائد برار میں قراء کی تعداد بکثرت رھی ۔ چوٹی کے قاری یهه تیس تھیے جنکیے شاگردون کی تعداد اور زیاده ھوگی ۔ ایک قاری بھی شہر بلکه علاقه کی فضا کو بدلنیے کیلئیے کافی ھوتا ھے ۔ مگر انگریزی دور حکومت میں اسکول کی تعلیم نے اتنا زور پکڑا که قدیم مسجدی و مکتبی تعلیم برار سے

بالکل مفقود ہوگئی ۔ ساتھ ہی قراء سے بھی توجہی بڑھ گئی ۔
حضور اکرم نے فرمایا تھا کہ ادبوا اولادکم علی ثلاث خصال ۔
حب نبیکم ۔ و حب اهل بیته و قراءة القران ۔ (اپنی اولاد کو تین
باتین ضرور سکھلاؤ ۔ اپنے نبی سے اور اوسکے اهل بیت سے محبت
اور قران کی تعلیم) مگر اپنے نبی کے حکم کے سامنے سرجھکا نے
والون کی تعداد اس اسکولی تعلیم نے ختم کردی ۔ یو ۔ پی اور بہار
میں جسقدر کثرت دینی مدارس کی ہے اوسکے مقابلے میں برار میں
دینی مدارس بالکل معدوم ہیں ۔ قلم با کالی یا دو ایک اور مقامات
پر جو مدارس ہیں وہ کوئی اہمیت نہیں رکھتے ۔ آج یہہ دیکھکر
حیرت ہوتی ہے کہ جس چمن کی آبیاری اتنے قراء نے اپنی
جانفشانی سے کی تھی اوس میں ایک پودا بھی لہلہاتا نظر نہیں آتا ۔
اور عندلیبان بالاپور کے باقیات الصالحات میں ایک بلبل بھی
چہچہاتا نظر نہیں آتا فاعتبروایا اولی الابصار ۔ برار کے اون مخلصین
سے جو اسلام پر جینا اور اسلام ہی پر مرنا چاہتے ہیں میری
درخواست ہے کہ اسی طرف متوجہ ہون ۔ بقول غالب

موج خون سر سے گذرهی کیون نه جائے
آستان یار سے اٹھ جائین کیا ؟

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SECTION V: ARABIC AND PERSIAN

President: DR. GULAM DUSTAGIR RASHID

1. Moulana Ruknud-din Sain Al-Harvi : His Life and Works
   Dr. Syed Hasan

2. Nazim of Tabriz, the Author of the Nazm-i-Guzida
   Dr. Nazir Ahmed

3. Persian Literature in Tamilnad During the 18th and 19th centuries
   Mr. Muhammad Yusuf Kokan Umari

4. Introducing Some Newly Discovered Persian Works of a Punjabi Poet, Sayyad Baba Hasham Shah
   Mr. Harnam Singh Shan

MOULANA RUKNUD-DIN SAIN AL-HARVI : HIS LIFE AND WORKS

By

Dr. Syed Hasan, Patna.

Among the contemporary poets, of Hafiz Shirazi, Moulana Ruknud-Din Sain has not been paid the attention that he deserves both by virtue of the merit of his poetry and on account of the fact that like his contemporary, he too had enjoyed the favours of, and bestowed encomiums upon, their common patrons for a long time. Moulana Ruknud-Din was an important figure of the age. He had attached himself successively to the courts of several kings and ministers and had suffered due to the vagaries of fortune which was a consequence of serving autocratic and despotic monarchs in an age full of jealousies and rivalries, intrigues and conspiracies, and battles and bloodshed.

One reason why Ruknud-Din Sain has been paid scant attention is that the *Tazkira*-writers and biographers are not sure of the real identity of the poet. They have confused him with other personalities of the age. There were at least three other persons in Iran during that period who shared with him his name or title or both.

Another factor which accounts for the comparative obscurity of Ruknud-Din Sain is the non-availability of the manuscript copies of his *Divan*. Though the *Divan* was in great circulation in Iraq-i- Ajam during the days of Daulat Shah it seems to have disappeared afterwards and the later *Tazkira*-writers with the exception of Taqi Auhadi and Ibrahim Khan Khalil, had no direct access to the *Divan* and were obliged to quote the poet's verses from *Arafat-i-Ashiqin*. A majority of the biographers have contented themselves with quoting one and the same Rubai which is not the poet's original composition !

His Name and Native Place : In order to establish the real identity of the poet we have, first of all, to determine his correct name and fix upon his native place. The poet's nearest *Tazkira*-writer, Daulatshah, has given his name as 'Ruknuddin Sain', while Taqi Auhadi calls him 'Khwaja Ruknuddin Sain Samnani' suggesting thereby that the poet belonged to Samnan. The author of *Riazush-Shoara* has followed Taqi but Ali Ibrahim Khan calls him Moulana Ruknudu-Din Harvi, *i.e.*, belonging to Herat. In *Majmaun-Nafais* of Khan Arzoo, 'Ruknud-Din Sain' has been mentioned as Safahani but Lutf

Ali Beg, who, I think, has not properly followed the meaning of Auhadi's words, has said that Ruknud-Din Sain was a descendant of the Qazis of Samnan and the same view is held by the author of Makhzanul Gharaib though the latter's source of information is Sheikh Alaud-Dowlah, the well-known saint of Samnan. In Subh-i-Gulshan the poet has been mentioned as Moulana Ruknuddin Sain Harvi but the compiler of Ruz-i-Raushan calls him Moulana Ruknud-Din Sain Isphahani and adds that the birth place of the poet is the village 'Sain' in the suburbs of Samnan and that the *Tazkira*-writers who have described Rukn-i-Samnani as Turka-i-Safahani and Sain-i-Harvi have erred because they have mistaken three different persons for one and the same person. The three other persons who lived during the days of Ruknud-Din Sain were: Sainud-Din Ali bin Muhammad Turka-i-Isfahani (d. 835 A.H./1431 A.D. in Herat), a great scholar and author of several Arabic and Persian books; Qazi Shamsuddin Mahmud Sain Samnani (d. 746 A.H./1345 A.D.), a minister of Ameer Mubarizud-Din Muzaffar and Sheikh Abu Ishaque Inju of Shiraz; and Ruknud-Din Sain Qaziul Mamalik (d. 700 A.H./1300 A.D.), a courtier of Arghum Khan and maternal uncle of the Saint, Alaud-Dowleh Samnani. It is evident that the *Tazkira*-writers have confused the poet with one of these three persons. The correct information is given in *Mawahib-i-Ilahi* written by Moulana Moinud-Din Yazdi, who was a contemporary of Ruknuddin Sain and was a favourite courtier, teacher and historian of Ameer Mubarizud-Din Muzaffar to whose court the poet remained attached for a long time. According to the book, written in 767 A.H./1365 A.D., the poet's correct name is Ruknud-Din and he comes from Herat. It appears that the title or patronymic Sain was later on appended to his name. Amin-i-Razi is correct when he says that Moulana Ruknud-Din is popularly known as Rukn-i-Sain. In *Subh-i-Sadiq* the poet has been mentioned as 'Rukn-i-Sain Harvi' and in my opinion this is the most correct statement.

His Pen-name: There is some confusion with regard to the poet's pen-name also. Most of the *Tazkira*-writers have taken it to be 'Rukn' and have described him under the letter 'R' but the author of Subh-i-Gulshan has taken it to be 'Sain' and has mentioned him under the letter 'S'. The author of ***Ruz-i-Raushan*** states that the poet uses three pen-names, *viz.*, Rukn, Sain and Saini. Another biographer, Ali Ibrahim Khan, says that the poet adopted 'Rukn-i-Husaini' as his pen-name in order to show his descent from the Sadat-i-Husaini. The fact is that the poet has only one pen-name and that is 'Rukn'. The writer has not so far come across a single line either in the ghazals or in the Qasidas in which any other pen-name has been used. The following verses may be quoted by way of illustration:

From *Qasidas* :

ولی بمدحت تو ترتیب کرد شعری رکن

که رخ زغیرت آن بر فروخت شعری را

چگونه پایه مدح تو رکن دریابد

ازان که پایۀ مدحت ورای ارکانست

کمینه بندۀ این آستان یعنی رکن

که ختم گشت برو شیوۀ ثناخوانی

From *Ghazals* :

شاید آن کام دل رکن برآری زلبت

زانکه عمر من و حسن تو حسابی دارد

درد نوشان غمت گر بخروشند چو رکن

ساغر دیده پراز خون جگر نیز کنند

گرهمه خون شود از محنت هجران ولی

رکن را از تو نیست تمنای وصال

His Early Life and Career : The details of the early life of Ruknud-Din Sain are not available. The author of *Suhuf-i Ibrahim* says that the poet was one of the forty persons who survived the general massacre of the people of Herat by Chengiz Khan. This appears to be incorrect as the great massacre of Merve, Nishapur and Herat by Chengiz Khan, or more accurately, by his son Tuli Khan, took place in 618 A.H./1221 A.D. The poet's death is known to have happened after 764 A.H./1362 A.D., which means that the poet attained an age of about 140 years which is unacceptable. The city of Herat was once again plundered and destroyed in 688 A.H./1289 A.D. by Ayaji Nikodari and a majority of its inhabitants had escaped or migrated to places of safety. It might be that the poet also migrated to some place to save his life in that year, but in that case, too, he must have been very young, a mere stripling. The difficulty is that the date of birth of the poet is not known nor do we know the number of years that he lived.

Taqi Auhadi writes that according to some biographers Khwaja Ruknud-Din Samnani was the son of Khwaja Sain and had friendship with Syed Husaini and had travelled with Shah Naimatullah Wali. This is evidently wrong because Syed Husaini of Herat, the author of *Zadul-Musafirin*, who died in 728 A.H./1329 A.D., was much older than Rukn, while Shah Naimatullah Wali, the celebrated Saint, was born in 730 A.H./1329 A.D. and must have been very young when Rukn had attained his full age. The disparity of age between the poet and Syed Husaini on the one hand and between him and the Wali, on the other, could not have permitted any intimacy developing between the two. Taqi Auhadi himself doubts the truth of this statement and says that Khwaja Sain who was the companion of the 'wanderers' belonged to the Qazi family of Turka-i-Isfahani. He obviously refers to Khwaja Sainud-Din Turka-i-Isfahani who had meetings with Shah Naimatullah Wali of Kirman and had spent a major portion of his life in travelling extensively in Arabia, Syria and Egypt in search of knowledge settling finally towards the end of his life in Isfahan.

Nothing is known about Rukn's education and academic attainments but Daulatshah has described him as a learned poet and Taqi Auhadi, who is in the habit of giving high titles to every poet that he speaks of, pays high tribute to Rukn's learning and poetry. According to him Rukn was one of the scholars of the time, perfect in all branches of learning. Rukn's contemporary, Moulana Moinuddin Yazdi, has mentioned him with the title of Moulana which indicates the respect in which he was held those days. It was on account of his scholarship that Rukn found an access to the court of Khwaja Ghiyathud-Din Fazlullah, son of Khwaja Rashidud-Din Fazlullah, the famous Prime Minister of the Mughal kings, Ghazan and Uljaitu, and the author of Jameut-Tawarikh-i-Rashidi. Khwaja Ghiyathud-Din was the prime minister of Abu Sayeed Khan Bahadur, the last Il-Khani ruler of Persia. The Khwaja was a great lover and patron of learning. His court was a centre of learned persons and many famous authors have dedicated their works to him, among whom are: Qazi Azdud-Din Iji, Qutbud-Din Razi, Muinud-Din Juwaini, Auhadud-Din Maraghi, Hamdullah Mustaufi and Salman Saoji. Rukn became the poet-laureate of the court as he himself refers to this in the following verse:

با آنکه هنر از اثر پرورش تو
امروز مرا صاحب صدر شعرا کرد

The death of Abu Sayeed Khan Bahadur took place in 736 A.H./1335 A.D. and Arpagan, a grandson of Chengiz Khan's brother, was set up as the Il-Khan by Khwaja Ghiyathud-Din, who continued to

be the prime minister. It appears that Rukn became the teacher of Arpagan, but the ruler and the minister both were killed in the same year by their rivals. The sad death of the vizier has been mourned by the poet in the following *Qita*:

جای آنست کاختران امروز
برسر از دست چرخ خاك كنند
دردخدان مهر از سر درد
جامه دربر چو صبح چاك كنند
الغیاث الغیاث در گیرند
ناله و آه درد ناك كنند
كه وزیری بدان عزیزی را
بچنین خوارئی هلاك كنند

The above 'fragment' has been quoted by Khondmir in his *Dasturul Wuzara* but its authorship has not been mentioned.

The nobles of the court of Abu Sayeed now set up another prince of the Mongol family, Tugha Timur Khan, who became the ruler of Kurasan in 736 A.H. The prince was an illiterate person but was fond of listening to poetry. He selected Rukn to be the leader of his prayers (*Pesh Imam*) and assigned to him the duty of reading from books to him. Rukn passed most of his time in the company of the Khan. It is stated that one day somebody inquired from Rukn if the Khan had learnt anything from him. Rukn replied that it was easier to teach Arpagan than the Khan and that the dead person was better than the living. The Khan, by chance, happened to be near the tent at that time and overheard the conversation which roused his wrath and he at once ordered him to be put in heavy chains. Rukn was in the prison for a long time till one day the Khan passed that way and Rukn sought his pardon. The Khan asked him to recite something extempore. Rukn at once recited the following *Rubai*:

در حضرت شاه چون قوی شد رایم
گفتم كه ركاب را بزر فرمایم
آهن چو شنید این حكایت از من
در تاب شد و حلقه زد بر پایم

The Khan was moved by Rukn's regrets and ordered his release.

Though Tugha Timur lived upto the year 754 A.H./1353 A.D., Rukn appears to have left his court much earlier, perhaps, on account of the Khan's treatment. He now left Khurasan and moved down to the south where he joined the court of Ameer Jamalud-Din Shah Sheikh Abu Ishaque of the Inju family. Ameer Sharfud-Din Mahmud, father of Sheikh Abu Ishaque, was in the service of Abu Sayeed Khan and had become his viceroy in the southern province. Ameer Sharfud-Din consolidated his position and established his complete independence in the area. Khwaja Ghiyathud-Din Fazlullah had very intimate relations with Sharfud-Din Mahmud and his daughter was married to the latter's son, Malik Jalalud-Din Masud Shah. Rukn must have come into contact with the house of Inju during his stay in the court of Ghiyathud-Din. Daulatshah says that Rukn wrote a *Qasida* in imitation of Suzani's Qasida which begins with the following verse :

تا کی زگردش فلك آبگینه رنگ

بر آبگینه خانه طاعت زنیم سنگ

and Shah Abu Ishaque Inju gave him seven purses of gold as reward. Rukn's *Qasida* has, unfortunately, disappeared. There are, however, two *Qasidas* in praise of Malik Jalalud-Din Masud, who had become the ruler of Fars in 740 A.H./1340 A.D. but was driven away from his position in 741 A.H./1341 A.D. by the united action of Ameer Peer Husain, grandson of Ameer Chopan Salduz, and Ameer Mubarizud-Din Muzaffar, the ruler of Yazd and Kirman. It appears that Rukn was attached to the court of Jalaud-Din Masud and on his defeat and flight to Luristan Rukn joined the court of his former patron's rival, Ameer Peer Husain, who now occupied Fars and had his capital at Shiraz. Rukn wrote panegyrics for the Ameer and was with him for about two years.

Ameer Peer Husain's fortune also proved short-lived. Sheikh Abu Ishaque Inju and Ameer Mubarizud-Din both became jealous of him and the former invaded Isfahan in 743 A.H./1342 A.D. Ameer Peer Husain was defeated in the battle and was compelled to flee to Tabriz to take refuge there with his cousin Ameer Sheikh Hasan Kuchak (junior) who caused his death by poisoning.

Ameer Peer Husain was a patron of learning and his court was surrounded by scholars and poets, many of whom including Rukn now joined the court of Ameer Mubarizud-Din Muzaffar.

For about sixteen years, from 743 to 759 A.H. (1342–1357 A.D.) Rukn remained in the court of Ameer Mubarizud-Din and wrote panegyrics in his praise. The largest number of the *Qasudas* of Rukn's Divan are addressed to the Ameer. In one of these Qasidas, which was written in the tenth year of Rukn's stay in the court, the poet has expressed his desire, to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca and to pass the rest of his life in the neighbourhood of the Holy Sepulchre. It is not known whether the poet's wish was fulfilled. It was not so far as the latter part of it is concerned.

In 759 A.H/1357 A.D. Ameer Mubarizud-Din's two sons, Shah Shuja and Shah Mahmud, conspired to depose their father as they feared some ill-treatment from him. They made a plan and one morning at dawn they entered the king's chamber and demanded his surrender. The Ameer was at that time reading the Quran and none else except Moulana Ruknuddin was with him. In the confusion that ensued Rukn jumped down from the balcony and ran past prince Shuja using abusive language, against him. As Rukn was very much terrified he could not recognise the prince and went on abusing him in the face. Being enraged Shuja struck him with his sword which ripped open his abdomen. Rukn fell down on the ground and entreated the prince to be merciful. When Shuja recognised him he began to laugh and said that he had struck him unknowingly. The prince then summoned the surgeons and ordered them to attend to him. They stitched up Rukn's wounds which healed up in a short time.

Ameer Mubarizud-Din was made a captive and was blinded. Shah Shuja now become the ruler of Shiraz. Rukn transferred his allegiance to Shuja and wrote *Qasidas* in his praise.

In 765 A.H./1363 A.D. Shah Shuja's younger brother revolted against him and declared himself independent in Isfahan. With the help of Sultan Owais Jalair Ilkani and the nobles of Sheikh Abu Ishaque Inju, Shah Mahmud invaded Shiraz and after having defeated his army occupied the city. He ruled over Fars for two years while Shah Shuja was compelled to pass his days in Kirman and its neighbourhood. During this period Rukn stayed in Shiraz and eulogised Shah Masud in this poems.

In 767 A.H. / 1365 A.D. Shah Shuja again collected an army and marched to Shiraz. Mahmud's army was routed and he fled to Isfahan. Shah Shuja triumphantly entered Shiraz and Rukn re-joined his former patron.

Tazkira - writers are unanimous on the year of the death of Moulana Ruknud-Din, which according to them, took place in 755 A.H. / 1363 A.D. But it appears that the poet lived for some

years more as he saw the temporary occupation of Shiraz by Shah Mahmud and then the return of Shah Shuja. Rukn's death came all of a sudden. The story of his death that has been narrated in *Rozatus-Safa* is as follows:

"One day Shah Shuja was going to Yazd accompanied by his followers including Moulana Ruknud-Din. On the way the king indulged in pleasantries with the poet in course of which the king reminded him of the incident that had happened at the time of the capture of his father and in which Rukn was wounded. Shah Shuja asked him: "How many years more do you want to live?" Rukn replied, "Ten years". But just at that moment a sudden change came over his condition. Feeling ill the poet came out of the royal tent but he had scarcely reached his own tent when he collapsed and died".

His Works: Daulatshah says that the *Divan* of Rukn-i-Sain "is well-known in Iraq-i-Ajam and his Dah-Nameh contains *ghazals* and *qatas*". Taqi Auhadi had seen his *Divan* and he says that it does not contain more than 2000 verses. He makes no mention of the Dah-Nameh. Amin Razi also speaks of Rukn's *Divan* which was current in his days. Ali Ibrahim Khan Khaleel states that the *Divan* of Rukn contains about 3000 verses. There are two manuscript copies of Rukn's *Divan* that the writer has been able to find as yet. One copy belongs to the Oriental Public Library, Patna, and the other is the property of the Buhar Section of the National Library, Calcutta. The former is a very early copy and is dated 883 A.H./1478 A.D. It contains *Qasidas*, *Ghazals*, *Qatas*, a few *Rubais* and some *Fards*. The total number of verses in this copy comes up to 1820. The second copy is undated but it appears to have been scribed much later. It is a large-sized book and has marginal writings as well though the number of folios is about half of the first. There are 1944 verses in this manuscript and only a small portion of its text is common with the O. P. L. Ms., the rest being entirely different material. The two manuscripts put together give 3764 verses, of which *Qasidas* comprise 3174 verses, *Qatas* 441 verses, *Ghazals*, 127 verses and *Rubais*, 22 verses. The *Qasidas* are addressed to the following persons: Ghiyathud-Din Fazlullah, Ameer Peer Husain, Ameer Mubarizuddin Muzaffar, Burhanud-Din Fathullah, Shah Shuja, Shah Qutbuddin Mahmud, Shah Mansur, Shah Jalalud-Din Masud and Khan Qatlugh Makhdumshah (mother of Shah Shuja).

Almost all the biographers have described Rukn as the panegyrist of Mubarizud-Din, Shah Shuja, Shah Mansur and Shah Mahmud. It is only the author of Suhaf-i-Ibrahim and Mr. Abdul Muqtadir, the cataloguer of the O. P. L., who have pointed out that Rukn wrote *Qasidas* for Ghiyathud-Din also. It seems that many of the writers had not seen the *Qasidas* written in praise of the Vizir or they could

not say who this Ghiyathud-Din was. Rukn has addressed three of his *Qasidas* to Burhanud-Din Fathullah, the minister of Ameer Mubarizud-Din, one of which has the same metre and rhyme as Hafiz's *Ghazal* which contains praise to the same Vizir. It seems as if one has imitated the other because the two compositions are similar in phraseology also. Both the *Qasida* of Rukn and Haifz's Ghazal are quoted below for the enjoyment of the readers :

RUKN'S QASIDA

دارم ز دور منت و از روزگارهم
کز بوی دوست مستم و از چشم یار هم

برقلب جان ز وصل تو دارم امید سر
بر دست دل ز زلف تو خواهم نگار هم

در بوستان حسن ز عکس عذار تو
یکبار منفعل شده گل شرمسار هم

سنبل ز زلف شست تو باشد بتاب نیز
نرگس ز چشم مست تو دارد خمار هم

بر خاطر گل از تو غباری نشسته بود
برخاست از خط تو کنون آن غبار هم

برچهره تا طراوت خطت پدید گشت
منسوخ شد حدیث گل و لاله زار هم

تنهانه من ز آتش عشقت بسوختم
می نالد از هوای تو چون من هزار هم

چون شمع در فراق تو از شام تا سحر
جز سوز نیست شغلم و جز گریه کار هم

از لطف ایزد است فروغ جمال تو
وز مهر رای خواجهٔ چرخ اقتدار هم

برهان ملك و دین که تفاخر همی کند
از بندگی او فلك و روزگار هم

آن خواجهٔ جهان که زجاه و جلال او
اسلام راست رایت و دین را شعار هم

و آن مظهر کمال که ذات شریف اوست
سرمایهٔ معالی و اصل وقار هم

هست از شکوه قصر علوی جناب او
بیت الحرام خیره و دار القرار هم

از لطف و عنف او که دو بازوی دولت اند
باشد زمانه خایف و امیدوار هم

صورت نه بست جز برضاي و هوای او
خورشید را مسیر و فلك را مدار هم

آندم که چون به صبح کشد تیغ انتقام
برنارد آفتاب سر از کوهسار هم

روح الامین که طائر قدس است می کند
جان گاه لطف در قدم او نثار هم

ای خواجهٔ ای که فیض سحاب سخاي تو
عرض بحار برده و آب بحار هم

دیده جهان جاه ز تو انتظار نیز
گشته اساس ملك بتو استوار هم

از فیض جود تو صدف و غنچه رابود
در در دهان همیشه و زر در کنار هم

روز و شب از لآلی مدح تو بر فلك
خور گرد روی دارد و هم گوشوار هم

دیده کشاده اند بامید دیدنت
خلق زپیش و پس زیمین و یسار هم

از حسن خلق و لطف تو در بوستان ملك
باشد فراغتم ز گل و نو بهار هم

بر خاطرم ز کار جهان هیچ بار نیست
از بهر آنکه فارغم از کاروبار هم

اما چگونه پای نهم درصف مراد
تا اضطراب باشد و تا اضطرار هم

از بس که می خورم غم بیفائده مدام
دارم خجالت از غم و از غمگسار هم

چون بر نداشتی ز جهان سایه هیچ وقت
ای آفتاب ملك زمن بر مدار هم

تابر سپهر و از اثر گردش فلك
خورشید و ماه باشد ولیل و نهار هم

بد خواه ملك را ز درخت خلاف تو
در سینه باد خنجر و در دیده خار هم

HAFIZ'S GHAZAL

دیدار شد میسر وبوس و کنار هم
از بخت شکر دارم و از روزگار هم

زاهد برو که طالع اگر طالع منست
جامم بدست باشد و زلف نگار هم

ما عیب کس بمستی و رندی نمی کنم
لعل بتان خوشست ومی خوشگوار هم

اي دل بشارتی دهمت محتسب نماند
وز می جهان پرست وبت می گسار هم

خاطر بدست تفرقه دادن نه زیرکیست
مجموعهٔ بخواه وصراحی بیار هم

بر خاکیان عشق فشاں جرعه لبت
تا خاك لعل گون شودو مشکبار هم

آن شد که چشم بد نگراں بودی از کمیں
خصم از میان برفت و سرشك از کنار هم

چون کائنات جمله ببوی تو زنده اند
ای آفتاب سایه زما بر مدار هم

چون آب روی لاله وگل فیض حسن تست
ای ابر لطف برمن خاکی ببار هم

حافظ اسیر زلف توشد از خدا بترس
وز انتصاف آصف جم اقتدار هم

برهان ملك ودين كه زدست وزارتش
ایام کان یمین شد و دریا یسارهم

بریاد رای انور او آسمان بصبح
جان می کند فدا و کواکب نثار هم

گوی زمین ربوده چوگان عدل اوست
وین برکشیده گنبد نیلی حصار هم

عزم سبك عنان تو درجنبش آورد
این پایدار مرکز عالی مدار هم

تا از نتیجه فلك و طور دور اوست
تبدیل ماه وسال و خزان و بهار هم

خالی مباد خاك جلالش زسروران
وز ساقیان سروقد گلعذار هم

NAZIM OF TABRIZ, THE AUTHOR OF THE NAZM-I-GUZIDA

By

Dr. Nazir Ahmad, Aligarh.

ناظم تبریزی مولف نظم گزیده

نظم گزیدہ فارسی شعرا کا عام تذکرہ ھے جس کے نسخے اس حد تک کمیاب ھیں کہ اسٹوری کو بھی کوئی نسخہ دستیاب نہوسکا چنانچہ «پرشین لٹریچر» میں اس کا ذکر نہیں ھے اور پروفیسر محمد شفیع صاحب نے فارسی شعرا کے ان تذکروں میں شامل کیا ھے جن کا نام تو ملتا ھے مگر جن کے کسی نسخے کا علم اس وقت تک نہیں تھا ۔ اس تذکرے کا وہ جزء مسلم یونیورسٹی (سبحان اللہ کلکشن) میں موجود ھے جو معاصرین سے متعلق ھے راقم نے اس نسخے کا تعارف معارف اعظم گڑھ کے ذریعے اپنے ایک مضمون «فارسی کے چار نایاب تذکرے» میں کرایا تھا ۔ اس مضمون میں ناظم تبریزی کے بھی مختصر حالات درج کردئے تھے مگر تذکرہ مذکور کے بالاستیعاب مطالعے سے مولف کے بارے میں بعض نئے معلومات فراھم ہوگئے ھیں جن کی مدد سے ناظم کی زندگی کے متعلق چند باتیں ذیل کے اوراق میں پیش کی جارھی ھیں ۔

ناظم کا نام خواجہ محمد صادق[1] تھا، وہ عباس آباد اصفہان کا رھنے والا اور ایک تبریزی خاندان کا چشم و چراغ تھا ۔ مولف نے اس تذکرے میں اپنے اور اپنے خاندان کے متعلق براہ راست کچھ نہیں لکھا ، صرف اتنا معلوم ہوتا ھے کہ اس کا باپ کچھ عرصے تک

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(۱) تذکرہ نصر آبادی ذیل ناظم

قزوین میں مقیم رہا اور پھر شیراز[2] چلا آیا[1] اور ۱۰۳۹ ھجری میں فوت ھوا اس کا دادا[3] بھی علم دوست تھا اور طوفی تبریزی[4] کے مصاحبوں میں تھا۔

ناظم کی پیدائش کی تاریخ معلوم نہیں ھے البتہ مرزا نظام دست غیب شیرازی کے ذیل میں لکھا ھے کہ مرزا مجھ سے دو سال بڑا ھے، پھر اسکی وفات اور عمر لکھی ھے۔ اتفاق سے میرے پیش نظر نسخے میں کتابت کی غلطی کی وجہ سے مرزا کا سنہ وفات «سنہ هزار» درج ھے۔ یہ سنہ کسی طرح صحیح نہیں ھو سکتی کیونکہ تذکروں[6] مین مرزا کی تاریخ وفات ۱۰۳۹ ھجری بتائی گئی ھے۔ صرف خلاصۃ الافکار میں ۱۰۲۹ ھے جو ۱۰۳۹ کی تصحیف معلوم ھوتی ھے۔ ناظم نے مرزا نظام کے سلسلے میں لکھا ھے کہ میرے والد اور میرزا کی وفات ایک ھی سال ھوئی اور والد کی وفات کی تاریخ «بہشتیش جای بادا» سے نکالی ھے جس کے اعداد ۱۰۳۹ ھوتے ھیں۔ اس سے واضح ھوتا ھے کہ نظام دست غیب کی وفات کی قطعی تاریخ ۱۰۳۹ ھجری ھی ھے۔ وفات کے وقت نظام کی عمر نظم گزیدہ اور تذکرہ[7] نصر آبادی کی رو سے تیس سال کی تھی اس حساب سے اسکی پیدائش ۱۰۰۹ ھجری میں ھوئی ھوگی، دو سال

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(۱) نظم گزیدہ ورق ۷۱ (۲) ورق ۲۸۲ (۳) ورق ۸۹

(٤) حالات کے لئیے ملاحظہ ھو، دانشمندان آذر بائیجان ص ۲۴۷-۲۴۸

(۵) ورق ۲۸۲ (٦) ملاحظہ ھو، انڈیا آفس کیٹلاگ: ۱ ص ۸۳۶ وغیرہ۔ (۷) ص ۲۷۱

کی خردی کے معنی یہ ہوئے کہ ناظم کی ولادت ۱۰۱۱ ھجری میں ہوئی ہوگی ، مگر نظام کی یہ تاریخ پیدایش تذکرہ میخانہ کی رو سے صحیح نہیں ۔ اس تذکرے کے دو خطی نسخوں میں ۱۰۲۸ ھ میں مرزا نظام کی عمر ۲۴ سال بتائی گئی ھے ، اس اعتبار سے اسکی پیدایش کا سنہ ۱۰۰۹ ھ کے بجاے ۱۰۰۴ ھجری قرار پاتا ھے ، اس بیان کی صحت میں ناظم کی پیدایش ۱۰۱۱ ھ کے بجائیے ۱۰۰۶ ھجری ہوگی ۔ آخر الذکر کی پیدایش ۱۰۱۱ ھ میں فرض کرنے میں ایک دشواری یہ ھے کہ خود ناظم نے میر رضی اصفہانی شاعر سے اپنی دوستی کا ذکر کیا ھے ۔ میر رضی ۱۰۲۴ ھجری میں ھندوستان سے واپسی کے بعد اصفہان میں فوت ھوا ھے ۔ گویا ۱۰۲۴ سے کافی پہلے ناظم کی دوستی میررضی سے ہوئی ھے اور اس تاریخ میں ناظم کی عمر ۱۳ سال کی ھوگی بظاھر ۱۳ سال سے کافی کم عمر لڑکے کی دوستی ایک جہان دیدہ شاعر سے کچھ بے جوڑ سی معلوم ھوتی ھے ، ۱۰۲۶ ھی میں جب ناظم ۱۵ سال کا رھا ھوگا اسکی شاپور طہرانی کے دیوان کی تدوین[2] بھی بظاھر خلاف توقع نظر آتی ھے البتہ میخانہ کی روایت پر اگر اعتماد کیا جائیے تو ۱۰۲۴ میں اسکی عمر ۱۸ سال اور ۱۰۲۶ میں ۲۰ سال قرار پاتی ھے اور اسطرح جو واقعے اسکی طرف منسوب ھیں وہ زیادہ بے ربط نہیں معلوم ھوتے۔

ناظم نے اپنی زندگی کے ابتدائی مراحل قزوین اور شیراز میں طے کئے قزوین کا ذکر نظم گزیدہ[3] میں ایک جگہ اسطرح آیا

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(۱) میخانہ کے چھپے ھوئے نسخے میں اس کا تذکرہ شامل نہیں ھے ، نسخہ کتابخانہ ملک (تہران) اور مسلم یونیورسٹی (ورق ۳۰۰) ۔ (۲) نظم گزیدہ ۷۶ (۳) ورق ۷۱

ہے کہ "اوایل شعور" میں شرف زر دوز تبریزی سے میری ملاقات قزوین میں بار بار ہوئی اور وہ میرے والد کا مصاحب تھا۔ عرفات عاشقین اور خلاصۃ الاشعار کے بیان کے مطابق شرف زر دوز اور وحشی کا مناظرہ ہوچکا تھا۔ صاحب عرفات نے اپنے قیام شیراز میں شرف سے ملاقات کی تھی۔ مولف عرفات کا قیام اول اول ۹۸۹ سے ۹۹۳ ہجری تک شیراز میں رہا۔ خلاصۃ الاشعار میں شرف کی طویل عمر کی طرف اشارہ ہے اور جب وہ تذکرہ لکھا جارہا تھا تو مولف کو شاعر کے متعلق معلومات نہ تھے کہ اسکی وفات کے متعلق کچھ لکھتا۔ البتہ بقائی تفرسی نے شرف کی وفات کی تاریخ ۱۰۱٦ ہجری لکھی ہے[۲]۔ میرے خیال میں نظم گزیدہ کا شرف زر دوز وہی ہے جو عرفات خلاصۃ الاشعار اور تذکرہ بقائی میں مذکور ہے۔ اس قیاس کے وجوہ یہ ہیں:

۱ — دونوں ہم عصر تھے۔ ناظم نے اسکو اپنے والد کا مصاحب بتایا ہے

۲— اس شرف کے علاوہ کوئی دوسرا شرف نہ "دانشمندان آذربائیجان" میں اور نہ نظم گزیدہ ھی میں بیان ہوا ہے۔

اس قیاس کے صحت کے بعد یہ طے ہوجاتا ہے کہ ۱۰۱٦ ہجری کے قبل شرف قزوین میں رہا ہوگا اور وہی لڑکپن میں ناظم اس سے ملا ہوگا۔

شیراز کا ذکر نظم گزیدہ میں کئی جگہ آیا ہے، مرزا نظام دست غیب کے ضمن میں ناظم[۳] لکھتا ہے: "با فقیر نیز مشق سخن

(۱) دانشمندان آذربائیجان ص ۱۹۱-۱۹۲ (۲) ایضاً

(۳) ورق ۲۸۲

کردہ و از ایام طفولیت هنگام دوستی و محبت با او گرم بود» ۔

اس سے دو باتیں قطعی طور پر معلوم ہوئیں ، اول یه که ناظم کے لڑکپن کا زمانه شیراز میں گذرا ، دوسرے یه که اس نے وهیں مشق سخن شروع کی تھی[1] ملهمی کے ذیل میں اسی تذکرے میں هے ۔

«در آن ایام که در شیراز با یاران (بوده) . مشار الیه ز هوا داران فقیر بوده» ۔

تذکرۂ نصر آبادی اور «دانشمندان آذربایجان» سے معلوم هوا که ملهمی کا تبریز میں پیر بوداق خاں سے تعلق تھا ، پھر شیراز آیا اور امام قلی حاکم شیراز سے وابسته هوگیا عالم آرائے[2] عباسی کے بیان کے مطابق امام قلی‌خان پسراله ویردی خاں پہلے حاکم و امیر دیوان لار تھا ، ١٤ ربیع‌الثانی ١٠٢٢هجری میں باپ کی وفات پر حاکم فارس مقرر هوا تھا ، اور وهیں ١٠٢٥ هجری میں فوت هوا ، اس بنا پر ملهمی ١٠٢٣ اور ١٠٢٥ کے درمیان شیراز آیا هوگا اور اس سے ظاهر هے که ناظم بھی ان میں سے بعض تاریخوں میں شیراز میں موجود رها هوگا لیکن درمیان میں اصفهان بھی جاتا رها هوگا جیسا که آگے آتا هے ۔

مرزا نظام دست غیب اور ملهمی کے علاوہ شیراز میں ناظم کے تعلقات غیاثائے حلوائی سے بھی بہت مخلصانه تھے ۔ ناظم نے بقول خود غیاثا[3] کے ساتھ شیراز میں شعر و شاعری شروع کی . تذکرہ نصر آبادی[4] میں بھی غیاثا کو مرزا نظام دست غیب اور ملهمی کے

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(۱) ورق ٢٨٤ (۲) ج ۲ ص ٨٧١ (۳) نظم گزیده ، ورق ١٤٨ ، ٢٨٢ ، ٢٨٤ (٤) ص ٢٣٨

دوستوں میں شمار کیا گیا ھے ۔ اسی تذکرہ کی رو سے غیاثا نے بعد
میں اصفہان میں مستقل طور پر سکونت اختیار کرلی تھی اس سے
قیاس کیا جاسکتا ھے کہ ناظم اور غیاثا اپنے قیام اصفہان کے دوران
میں ایک دوسرے سے نزدیک رھے ھوں گے ۔

شیراز کے قیام میں ناظم شیخ ابو القاسم[1] گازرونی کی صحبت
سے مستفید ھوتا تھا اگرچہ ناظم گزیدہ میں ناظم شیخ مذکور کو اپنا
دوست بتاتا ھے مگر یہ بات خاص طور پر قابل لحاظ ھے کہ ایک
طرف شیخ فضیلت علمی کے اعتبار سے نہایت ممتاز تھا اور
دوسری طرف وہ عمر میں بھی بڑا تھا ماثر رحیمی[2] سے ضمناً معلوم
ھوتا ھے کہ ابو القاسم کا بیشتر قیام گازرون ھی میں رھتا تھا اس
سے قیاس کیا جاسکتا ھے کہ ناظم بھی شیراز کے نواح کے اس
مردم خیز قصبے میں بھی جاتا ھوگا ۔

شیراز ھی میں ناظم کی ملاقات « تسلی » تخلص کے ایک
شاعر سے ھوئی جس کا نام ابراھیم[3] شیرازی تھا ، تسلی کے معاصرین
میں اسی تخلص کے دو شاعر اور تھے ، ایک تسلی ارستانی جو
کچھ دنوں گازرون میں شیخ ابو القاسم گازرونی کی صحبت میں رہ چکا
تھا ، وھاں سے شیراز اور پھر ۱۰۲۲ ھجری میں ھندوستان چلا آیا
پہلے بیجاپور میں وارد ھوا اور بالآخر ۱۰۲۵ میں برھانپور میں
خان خانان[4] سے وابستہ ھوگیا ۔ دوسرا تسلی ھمدانی تھا وہ کچھ
دنوں شیراز میں رھا اور گازرون میں شیخ ابو القاسم کی صحبت سے

(۱) ورق ۱۷۶ (۲) ماثر رحیمی ، ۳-۲ ص ۱۵۲۶-۱۵۲۷
(۳) نظم گزیدہ ورق ۶۲۶ (٤) ماثر رحیمی ، ۳-۲ ص ۱۵۲۶-۱۵۲۷

مستفیض بھی ھوا ، اس بنا پر قیاس کیا جاسکتا ھے کہ ناظم کی ملاقات ان دونوں سے بھی ھوئی ھوگی مگر اسکی دوستی تو پہلے ھی «تسلی» سے تھی۔

ناظم کے اصفہان میں قیام کی مدت طویل ھوگی۔ یہاں اس نے شاعروں اور ادیبوں کی صحبت سے کافی استفادہ کیا۔ چنانچہ نظم گزیدہ میں جابجا اشارے موجود ھیں۔

میر رضی اصفہانی سے ۱۰۲۴ھ[1] کے قبل اصفہان میں برابر صحبت رھتی تھی اس وقت (خود اپنے قول کے مطابق) اسکی عمر ۱۱-۱۲ سال سے زیادہ نہیں ھوگی۔ اور انھیں تاریخوں میں ناظم شیراز میں بھی ملتا ھے ، اس سے قیاس ھوتا ھے کہ شیراز و اصفہان میں اسکی آمد ورفت برابر رھا کرتی تھی ، ۱۰۲۶ ھجری[2] میں رونقی کے اصفہان آنے کے موقع پر وہ وھاں موجود تھا اور اس سے خوب صحبت رھی ، اسی سنہ میں وہ اصفہان ھی میں شاپور کے دیوان کی تدوین میں مصروف تھا ، ۱۰۲۸[3] میں کلیم ھمدانی جب اصفہان گیا تو ناظم دو سال تک اسکی صحبت میں رھا۔ نظم گزیدہ[4] میں ھے :

«در اصفہان فقیر بہ ملاقات ایشان رسیدہ مدت دو سال بہ رفاقت و مصاحبت این حقیر قناعت می نمود تا آنکہ در سنہ ھزار وسی آن متوجہ ھند و بندہ متوجۂ مکۂ معظمہ شد»

ادائی یزدی ناظم کے مخلص دوستوں میں تھا ، دونوں عرصے تک اصفہان میں ساتھ ساتھ شاعری کرتے یہاں تک کہ ۱۰۳۰ میں

(۱) ورق ۴۷ (۲) ورق ۴۹ (۳) ورق ۷۶ (۴) ورق ۱۸۶

ادائی هندوستان کی طرف[1] روانه هوا اور ناظم حج کرنے چلا گیا، اسی سال علی نقی کمرۂ[2] سے ناظم کی ملاقات اصفہان هی میں هوئی

ان کے علاوہ بہت سے اور شاعروں سے ناظم کی ملاقات هوئی تهی، ان میں حسب ذیل شاعروں کے نام نظم گزیدہ میں ملتے هیں۔

مرزا ملك مشرقی[3]۔ حسینی[4]۔ جعفر حسینی مشهدی[5]۔ بقائی تفرسی[6]۔ درکی قمی[7]۔ شهودی اصفهانی[8]۔ عزتی[9]۔ فضلی جربادقانی[10]۔ حکیم شفائی[11]۔

اگر ان شاعروں کے حالات جمع کیئے جائیں تو ناظم کی زندگی کی کچھ تفصیل اور بهی مل جائیے مگر فی الحال اس سے قطع نظر کی جاتی هے، حکیم شفائی سے اپنی دوستی کا ذکر کرتے هوئے ناظم لکهتا هے۔

«این قلیل البضاعت عدیم الاستطاعت از محبان صادق اوست روزی ازآن جناب نسبت به عرفی شیرازی بی توجهی بظهور آمده و بنده طرف عرفی را داشت، لازم شد که در مقام جواب قصیده ای که مشارالیه بعد از فوت عرفی در هجو وی گفته بود، در آید لیکن پاس محبت نگذاشت۔»

۱۰۳۰ هجری میں ناظم اصفهان کو خیرباد کہه چکا هے رجب که اسکی عمر خود اس کی روایت کے اعتبار سے ۱۹ سال سے کم تهی) اس سے واضح هے که شفائی سے ملاقات کے وقت اسکی عمر ۱۹

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(۱) ورق ۲۱۷ (۲) ورق ۲۵۲ (۳) ورق ۲۵۵ (۴) ورق ۲۳۹ (۵) ورق ۲۳۲ (۶) ورق ۲۲۰ (۷) ورق ۴۲ (۸) ورق ۶۸ (۹) ورق ۱۴۰ (۱۰) ورق ۱۷۶ (۱۱) ورق ۷۲

سال سے کم ہی رہی ہوگی، شفائی جیسے مشاق شاعر سے ناظم کے مناظرہ کا خیال اسکی جسارت پر دلالت کرتا ہے ۔ ۱۰۳۰ھ[1] کے قبل ناظم نصیرا ے ہمدانی کی بھی صحبت میں رہا ہے ۔ نصیرا اسکے حال پر بڑی توجہ رکھتا تھا، ممکن ہے یہ ملاقات اصفہان میں ہوئی ہو ۔

۱۰۳۰ ہجری میں کم عمری ہی میں ناظم سفر حج و زیارت عتبات پر روانہ ہوگیا اگرچہ اس سفر کی تفصیل کہیں نہیں ملتی مگر خود ناظم نے مختلف شعرا کے ضمن میں اس سفر کا ذکر کیا ہے اور تذکرہ[2] نصر آبادی میں بھی یہ جملہ آیا ہے ۔

«مدتی در مکہ معظمہ ساکن شدہ بود اوقات صرف عبادت و مجالست اهل حال می کرد .»

لیکن خود نظم گزیدہ سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ اس سفر میں زیادہ وقت صرف نہیں ہوا تھا، اس کی وجہ یہ ہے کہ ۱۰۳۰ھ میں وہ اصفہان میں تھا اور ۱۰۳۲ میں گجرات میں ملتا ہے، گویا ۱۰۳۰ اور ۱۰۳۲ کی درمیانی مدت جو ایک سے کچھ ہی زاید ہوگی زیارت حج اور سفر میں صرف ہوئی، نظم گزیدہ کی رو سے نجف اشرف میں سنجر کاشی کے والد میر حیدر معمائی سے ملاقات[3] ہوئی ۔ تسلی شیرازی کے ضمن[4] میں لکھا ہے کہ وہ مسیح الزمان الہی کاشی کے ساتھ حج کو گیا ۔ ۱۰۳۱ میں جس وقت ناظم مکہ معظمہ میں معتکف تھا تسلی سے اسکی ملاقات ہوئی لیکن الہی کاشی کے ذیل

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(۱) ورق ۲۵۳ (۲) ص ۴۱۲ ، نیز دانشمندان آذر بائیجان ص ۳۶۹ (۳) نظم گزیدہ ورق ۲۳۵ (۴) ورق ۲۲۶

میں تکمیل حج کی تاریخ ۱۰۳۰ھ درج ہے جو سقم سے خالی نہیں۔ ملاحظہ ہو[1]:

«این شکستہ خاطر وقتی بہ مومیای صحبت مسرت بخش آن حکمت پناہ رسید کہ برای زیارت بیت اللہ از ہند بہ بندر جدہ رسیدہ بودند و بندہ از مکۂ معظمہ بارادۂ سفر ہند وارد بندر مذکور شدہ بود، مدت یک ماہ از التفات مشفقانہ بہرہ ورگشتہ و این ملاقات در سنہ ہزارو سی روی داد.»

ظاہر ہے جو شخص ۱۰۳۰ھ میں اصفہان میں ہو وہ زیارت اور حج کی تکمیل کے بعد اسی سنہ میں ہندوستان کے ارادہ سے جدہ نہیں پہنچ سکتا، اس سنہ میں «ایک» کی کمی معلوم ہوتی ہے، صحیح سنہ وہی ہے جو تسلی کے ذیل میں درج ہے، لیکن ۱۰۳۰ھ ہی میں حج کی ادائی ہوگئی تھی جیسا کہ مرزا مرزا یحیی کے ذیل[2] میں صراحۃ لکھا ہے کہ اس سے ۱۰۳۰ (اسی سال) میں مکہ معظمہ میں حج کے موقع پر ملاقات ہوئی، اسی بنا پر رضاپاشا سے مکۂ معظمہ ہی میں ۱۰۳۴ ہجری[3] کی ملاقات یقیناً غلط ہے۔ یہ بات کچھ عجیب سی ضرور ہے کہ نصر آبادی کی رو سے تسلی[4] ۱۰۳۴ ہجری میں حج کو گیا ہے۔ اگر یہ اسکا دوسرا حج نہیں جسکا احتمال ضعیف ہے تو ناظم اور تسلی کی مکۂ مکرمہ کی ملاقات ۳-۴ سال بعد کی ہوتی ہے جو ہماری اطلاع کے مطابق صحیح نہیں ہوسکتی۔ غالباً صاحب تذکرہ نصر آبادی کے

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(۱) وروق ۲۱۳ (۲) ورق ۲۷۱ (۳) ورق ۵۰۰ (۴) ص ۲۵۸

پیش نظر ناظم کے ۱۰۳۰ میں حج پر جانے اور ۱۰۳٤ میں اس سے مکہ ہی میں ملاقات ہونے کا واقعہ تھا ، اسی بنا پر اس نے ناظم کے قیام مکہ کی مدت طویل لکھی ہے ۔

خود اپنے قول کے مطابق ناظم ۱۰۳۱ میں ہندوستان روانہ ہوجاتا ہے اور[1] ۱۰۳۲ ھجری میں وہ گجرات میں موجود ملتا ہے ، وہیں مولانا صوفی مازندرانی کا دیوان ملا مگر مولانا سے ملاقات کی صورت نہ نکل سکی ۔ لکھتا[2] ہے :

«بجائی عبور نمودیم کہ تا منزل مولانا محمد اندک مسافتی بود و ملاقات اودست نداد»

۱۰۳۳ میں بندر مخا آیا ۔ وہاں اسے عرفی کے دیوان کا ایک مسودہ ہاتھ آ گیا ۔ اس کے متعلق اس کا بیان عام روایت سے مختلف ہونے کے باوجود کافی اہم[3] ہے جو ذیل میں درج کیا جاتا ہے :

مخفی نماند کہ عرفی درحین نزاع مسودات اشعار خود بیکی از خادمان خود سپرده ، ازان تاریخ آن پردگیان حجلہ فکر در کنج کتابخانہ مستور بودند مگر دیوان اول مشارالیہ کہ کمال شہرت داشت تادر سنہ هزار وسی وسہ خان خانان شخصی را بااین امر برگزید کہ آن جواهر منظوم را در سلک ترتیب منتظم سازد ، اتفاقاً آن شخص مسودات را برداشتہ بہ

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(۱) ورق ۱۰۳۱ ھجری میں ہندوستان کے ارادے سے جدہ پہنچنے کا ذکر ہے ۔ (۲) ورق ۲۸۵ (۳) ورق ۱۱۳

سبب آزردگی که از خان خانان داشت فرار نمود ، فقیر در
بندر مخا او را دیده مسودات عرفی را خواه نخواه ازو گرفته
ترتیب داده جمع نموده تمامی اشعار او پانزده هزار بیت شده[1] .

ماثر رحیمی میں صراحۃً موجود ھے کہ ۱۰۲۶ میں سراجانے
خان خانان کے حکم سے عرفی کا دیوان مرتب کیا جس میں ۱۴
ھزار اشعار تھے اور اس دیوان پر ماثر رحیمی کے مولف نے
دیباچہ بھی لکھا تھا اور جب وہ دیوان برھانپور میں خان خانان
کے سامنے پیش ھوا تو مولف ماثر موجود تھا ، اتفاق سے راقم کی
نظر سے دیوان عرفی کے دو ایسے نسخے گذرے جن میں یہ دیباچہ
شامل ھے ، ایک ایران میں کتابخانۂ مجلس شورائے ملی میں اور
دوسرا حبیب گنج (علی گڑھ) میں ھے ، لیکن دونوں کی ترتیب میں
فرق ھے ، ممکن ھے ان میں سے کوئی اصل نسخہ ھو یا اصل سے
براہ راست نقل ھوا ھو .

وجوہ بالا کی بناپر نظم گزیدہ کی روایت صحیح نہیں معلوم
ھوتی ـ البتہ اس روایت کا یہ حصہ جس سے ناظم کے عرفی کے مسودے
کے پانے اور خود اپنی ترتیب کا ذکر ھے اس کی صحت سے انکار
نہیں ھوسکتا . بہر حال فی الحال مجھے یہ عرض کرنا ھے کہ ناظم
۱۰۳۳ میں ھندوستان کے ساحلی حصے میں موجود تھا .

انھیں تاریخوں میں ناظم یتریزی کچھ دنوں سورت میں
طہماسپ قلی[2] دیوان کے پاس بھی رہا ھے طہماسپ بقول نصر آبادی

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(۱) ج ۳ ص ۲۳ ، ۱۳۵۵-۱۳۵۶ (۲) ورق ۲۴۲ (۳) ص ۶۳

اصلا کرد تھا لیکن قندھار میں نشو و نما پانے کی بنا پر قندھاری
مشہور تھا، وہ شاعر تھا اور وہمی تخلص کرتا تھا۔ گجرات میں ناظم
کی ملاقات تقی اصفہانی مولف تذکرہ عرفات عاشقین سے بھی ہوئی
تھی نظم گزیدہ[1] میں ملاقات کا سنہ نہیں دیا ہے البتہ ریاض الشعرا[2]
میں ہے کہ ۱۰۳۷ ہجری میں تقی اور ناظم کی ملاقات گجرات میں
ہوئی۔ معلوم نہیں صاحب ریاض الشعرا کی مراد وہی ملاقات ہے
جس کا ذکر خود ناظم نے کیا تھا یا دوسری۔ البتہ ایك قابل ذکر
بات یہ ہے کہ نظم گزیدہ ۱۰۳۶ ہجری میں لکھا گیا، اس بنا پر
اس میں جو واقعہ درج ہوگا وہ اس سنہ تك کا یا اس کے پہلے
کا ہوگا، اسی لئے ناظم کی ملاقات کی تاریخ ۱۰۳۶ یا اس کے قبل
کی ہوگی اور اس وجہ سے یہ ملاقات وہ نہیں ہوسکتی جو ریاض
الشعرا میں ۱۰۳۷ ہجری میں بیان ہوئی ہے لیکن اس کے ساتھ
یہ فراموش نہ کرنا چاہئے کہ خود نظم گزیدہ میں برابر اضافہ
ہوتا رہا ہے اور اس میں ۱۰۳۷ کے بعد تك کے واقعات درج ہیں۔

ناظم تبریزی کے متعلق نظم گزیدہ میں اس سے زیادہ اور
کچھ نہیں ملتا اور تذکرے مین اس اتفاق سے کسی اور تذکرہ نویس
کی تفصیل درج نہیں ہے، یہ بھی معلوم نہیں کہ ہندوستان میں وہ
کہاں اور کب تك رہا۔ صرف تذکرہ نصرآبادی[3] میں لکھا ہے کہ اس
تذکرے کی تکمیل کے کچھ دنوں پہلے ناظم کا انتقال ہوا۔ تذکرہ
نصر آبادی کی تاریخ تکمیل ۱۰۸۱ ہے، اس بنا پر قیاس کیا

(۱) ورق ۲۲۱ (۲) ورق ٤٥٨ (۳) ص ٤١٢

جاسکتا ھے کہ ناظم نے طویل عمر پائی لیکن اس عمر کے صرف ابتدائی پچیس سال کے متعلق تو تھوڑے بہت معلومات ھیں لیکن بعد کے ۴۰-۴۵ سال کے بارے میں کچھ بھی معلوم نہیں ۔

ناظم کے اعزہ میں بھی کسی کے متعلق کچھ بھی معلومات نہیں ، صرف تذکرہ نصر آبادی[1] میں اسکے ایک بھائی محمد رضا بیگ مروارید فروش کا ذکر ھے ۔

ناظم نے تین کتابیں چھوڑی ھیں ، پہلی نظم گزیدہ ۔ یہ شعرا کا عام تذکرہ ھے جس کے دو حصے تھے ۔ حصہ اول میں ابتداء سے حاجی تک کے شعرا شامل تھے ، جلد دوم میں اپنے زمانے تک کے شعرا کے حالات درج ھیں ، جلد اول کے کسی نسخے کی اطلاع نہیں البتہ جلد دوم کا ایک نسخہ مسلم یونیورسٹی کے کتابخانے میں موجود ھے ، اس تذکرے میں شعرا کے ضمن میں صرف ان کی غزلوں اور رباعیوں کے اشعار منقول ھیں ۔

بظاھر آقاے محمد علی تربیت مصنف دانشمندان[2] آذر بائیجان کو اس تذکرے کے نسخے کا علم تھا ۔

دوسری تصنیف ایک مثنوی بعنوان فیروز وشہباز ھے راقم کے پیش نظریہ مثنوی نہیں ، آقاے تربیت نے اسکو بہت مشہور بتایا ھے اور ریاض[3] الشعرا میں اس مثنوی کا ذکر موجود ھے ۔

تیسری[4] تصنیف دیوان ناظم ھے ، آقاے تربیت نے ۶ ھزار اشعار کا ایک دیوان دیکھا تھا ، مگر راقم کو اسکے کسی نسخے کا علم نہیں ۔

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(۱) ص ۴۱۲ (۲) ص ۳۶۹ (۳) ورق ۴۵۸ و (۴) دانشمندان آذربائیجان ، ص ۳۶۹

PERSIAN LITERATURE IN TAMILNAD DURING THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

By

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During the period under consideration, Persian had become the literary and cultural language of Muslims throughout India. Muslims had established their rule in South India, with Arcot as the seat of their Government. Aurangzib Alamgir, the Moghul Emperor, posted as Nawab of Carnatic, in 1102 A.H. : 1690 A.D., Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, who tried his level best to prevent the widespread onslaught of the Marathas in the extreme South and endeavoured to capture Gingee Fort, a stronghold of the Maratha army. He ruled the country for about thirteen years. Dawood Khan succeeded him in 1116 A.H. : 1703 A.D., and retired from service in 1123 A.H. : 1710 A.D., when Nawab Saadathullah Khan who captured Gingee Fort in 1125 A.H.: 1713 A.D., was appointed Nawab of Carnatic. He was not only a great general and administrator but was also a great patron of art and learning. During his rule lasting about twentytwo years, learned men from all parts of the country, especially from Bijapur, were attracted to his court at Arcot. Some of them settled down in Vellore, Arni, Tirupattur, Nellore, Madras, Wandiwash, Chetpet, Nusratgarh (Gingee), Natharnagar (Tiruchirapalli) etc. There arose during this period four great centres of learning, viz. Arcot, Vellore, Madras and Tiruchirapalli.

Afzal Khan Naithi, better known as *Lazzati*, was a contemporary of Nawab Saadathullah Khan. He was a courtier at the Mughal court at Delhi. He came to Arcot and settled down there.

He had a natural aptitude for Persian and Urdu poetry. He composed a *mathnavi* depicting the love story of Chandar Badan and Mahyar. Shaikh Muhammad Ameen Israili, another great scholar, came from Delhi and settled down at Arcot in 1131 A.H. : 1718 A.D. He was the author of *Gulshan-e-Saadat* and *Majma-u-Insha*. He has also left a *Diwan* in Persian. He died at Arcot and is buried there.

Sheikh Muhammad Sibghatullah, well known as *Naib-e-Rasulillah* (Deputy of the Prophet), was a great saint of Bijapur. He preached godliness and humanity for a number of years and in his old age he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and died at Madina. In his will, which he entrusted to his disciple Shaikh Abdul Azeem, he exhorted his brother's son, Syed Muhammad Qadri to be a preacher and discharge his duties faithfully. Syed Muhammad Qadri was till his death the religious head of the Muslim community of Bijapur. He was succeeded

by his son Sultan Syed Abdur Rahman, who has left for us a short treatise in Persian, known as *Nafs-e-Rahmani*. His letters to his son and successor Syed Ali Muhammad Qadri are very interesting and worth reading. They deal with subjects like soul, body, matter, knowledge, truth, path of life, religious law etc. Syed Ali Muhammad Qadri has also written a very valuable book in Persian, known as *Tajalliyat-e-Rahmani*, which deals with twentyeight topics relating to mysticism. This work is regarded even to this day in the South as a clear exposition of mystical truths. Syed Ali Muhammad Qadri lived at Arcot and died there in 1138 A.H. : 1725 A.D. He is buried at Tajpura in the vicinity of Arcot.

Another great teacher during this period was Shaikh Muhammad Makhdoom Abdul Haque Sawi, who originally belonged to Bijapur but who migrated to Basmat Nagar in Hyderabad State and finally settled down at Mylapore, Madras. He was a great master of Arabic and Persian and wrote several works in Persian, *Miftah-al-Tafasir*, *Ghanimat-al-Waqt*, *Bayani-Waqe*, *Daleel-e-Muhkam*, *Asa-e-Musa*, *Sirat-e-Mustaqeem*, *Hayat-e-Jan*, *Risala-e-Indiraj* etc. He commanded the respect of the Hindus as well, who called him *Gyan Bhandari* on account of his extraordinary intelligence and wisdom. He was a great source of inspiration to his disciples and followers. He died in 1164 A.H. : 1751 A.D. His tomb still exists in Mylapore, Madras, and people visit it to pay their homage to his memory.

Ghulam Ahmad, his son, surnamed Khursheed and Haque, was a great scholar in Arabic and Persian. His work *Minhaj-al-Muhaqqiqeen* in Arabic and *Al-Saheefat-al-Mursala* in Persian are preserved in a library at Madras.

Syed Shah Abdul Hasan, surnamed Qurbi was a great mystic and poet. He studied Persian under Muhammad Hussain of Bijapur who had migrated to Arcot. Qurbi later on became a student of Shaikh Fakhruddin Mehkari Naithi Bekhud of Vellore, who was a student and disciple of Shaikh Makhdoom Sawi. Fakhruddin was an eminent poet of his day. He created in Qurbi much interest for Persian poetry. Qurbi studied Arabic under Muhammad Saqi of Arcot. After some time he came into contact with Shaikh Muhammad Makhdoom Sawi. Qurbi was greatly enchanted by the said Shaikh on account of his piety and learning and composed a long poem in Persian consisting of one hundred verses known as *Qasida-i-Bahr-al- Asrar* (Ode to the Ocean of Secrets). Qurbi died at Vellore in 1182 A.H. : 1768 A.D., leaving behind him a number of works: *Mizan-ul-Aqaid*, *Taqwiyat-ul-Iqan*, *Khulasat-ul-Irfan*, *Ithbat-e-Wujud-e-Haqiqi*, etc. in Persian and *Namak Nama* and *Manind-e-Hidayat Nama* etc. in Dakani.

Two among Qurbi's students became very famous for their proficiency in Arabic, Persian and Urdu. One was his own son Zawqi and the other was Moulana Muhammad Baqir Agah. Zawqi's name was Syed Shah Abdul Lateef. He was born at Vellore in 1151 A.H. : 1738 A.D. He studied Arabic and Persian under his father and other teachers at Vellore. His power of memory and imagination were remarkable. He had the extraordinary power of expressing his thoughts in poetry very quickly. He composed five to seven hundred verses at a sitting. Agah regards him equal to the Persian poet Nizami. Zawqi has composed many works in Persian ; several of them are in verse. *Mujiz-e-Mustafa, Jawahir-e-Manzoom, Najib Nama, Durr-e-Bebaha, Ishqnama, Chaman-e-Muhabbat, Chahar Fasl, Alima, Hakima, Jawahirstan, Insha-e-Lutfullahi, Ahsan-al-Usloob, Tasfiyat-ul-Azhan, Rowzatu-ul-Khuld, Zain ul-Lughat, Istilahat-i-Shura, Tafsir-i-Lateefi, Akbar, Awsat, Asghar, Hadyat-ul-Akhyar, Tazkirat-ul-Awliya, Maarij-un-Nubuwwaat, Salasil-ul-Awliya, Madaih-ul-Mashaikh* are some of his important works. Zawqi died prematurely when he was only 44. The year of his death is 1194 A.H. : 1780 A.D. He is buried at Vellore.

Maulana Muhammad Baqir Agah, son of Muhammad Murtuza, was born at Vellore in 1158 A.H. : 1745 A.D. His uncle Shaikh Muhammad Habibullah, a disciple of Qurbi, was employed in the service of Khan Abdul Hye Khan, grandson of Nawab Anwaruddin Khan Bahadur. Agah studied under his uncle and Qurbi. He had great love for his teacher. He came down to Vellore in 1179 A.H. : 1765 A.D. from Tiruchirapalli, where he had been living for some time with his own uncle, and became a regular student and disciple of Qurbi. He wrote a biography of his teacher in Persian known as *Tuhfat-al-Ahsan fi Manaqib-al-Sayedi Abil Hassan.*

After Qurbi's death, Agah was employed in the service of Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajah as an Arabic Munshi to him and a tutor to his two sons, Nawab Umdat-ul-Umara and Nawab Amirul Umara. He was equally proficient in Arabic, Persian and Urdu. He has left several works in all these three languages. *Chahar Sad Irad bar Kalam-e-Azad, Kitab-al-Rasail, Kashf-al-Ghita an Ashrat-al-Saat, Ahsan-al-Tabyeen fi Adab-al-Mutallimeen* etc. are some of his important works in Persian. Agah died at Madras in 1220 A.H. : 1805 A.D.

Another reputed scholar of this period was Mir Ismail Khan Abjadi, whose works in Persian *Anwarnama, Mawaddat Nama, Raghib-o-Marghub, Zubdat-ul-Afkar, Diwan-e-Abjadi, Sharh-e-Tuhfat-al-Iraqain,* have been published by the Madras University. Abjadi died in 1203 A.H. : 1788 A.D. and is buried at Mylapore, Madras.

Another great teacher and poet of this period was Syed Shah Abdul Qadir Mehrban Fakhri. He was born at Aurangabad and studied under Mir Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami. He migrated to Madras in 1183 A.H.: 1769 A.D. and settled down in Mylapore, Madras. He died in 1204 A.H.: 1789 A.D., leaving behind him several works in Persian like *Aslul Usool, Subhat, Mifta-ul-Maarif, Kuhlul Jawahir, Faiz-e-Manavi, Diwan-e-Mehrban etc. Aslul Usool* has been published by the University of Madras.

As the family of the Nawabs of Carnatic belonged to Gopamau, a town in Hardoi district, U.P., several scholars from the North came down to Madras. Of them the following three were widely known for their scholarship: (1) Mullah Bharul Uloom Abdul Ali (2) Mirza Ali Bakht Azfari and (3) Qazi Irtiza Ali Khan Safavi. Mullah Bahrul Uloom needs no introduction to scholars but very few know the fact that the title of Bahrul-Uloom (Ocean of Sciences) was awarded to him by Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajah. When Nawab Umdatul-Umara succeeded his father in 1210 A.H.: 1795 A.D., he conferred on Maulana Abdul Ali the title of *Malik-ul-Ulama* (King of the Learned). A madrasa, known as *Madrasa Kalan*, was established at Madras, of which he was made Principal, a post which he held till his death in 1225 A.H. 1810 A.D. He lies buried in the compound of Walajah Mosque, Madras.

Mirza Ali Bakht Azfari was a member of the Royal family at Delhi. He migrated to Madras in 1212 A.H.: 1797 A.D., where he lived till his death in 1234 A.H.: 1818 A.D. He was the author of several works in Persian, Turkish and Urdu, of which *Waquiat-i-Azfari* (Persian) and *Diwan-i-Azfari* have been published.

Qazi Irtiza Ali Khan Safwi Khushnood, son of Qazi Ahmed Mujtaba Khushdil, was born at Gopamau, in 1198 A.H.: 1783 A.D. His father had migrated to Madras before him and he lies buried in compound of Muthialpet Mosque, Madras. Khushnood earned great fame and reputation as an author, scholar and poet. He was awarded the title of *Afzalul-Ulama* (the best amongst the learned). When he came to Madras in 1225 A.H.: 1810 A.D. he was appointed as a Mufti and then Qazi and ultimately he held the post of Chief Justice of Carnatic for a period of about twenty years. He resigned this post in 1268 A.H.: 1853 A.D. He died in 1270 A.H.: 1853 A.D. on board the ship while returning to India from pilgrimage. He had a watery grave.

Qazi Irtiza Ali Khan has left several works in Arabic and Persian on logic, law of inheritance, arithmetic, rhetoric, prosody etc., and his works like *Nafais-e-Irthazia, Faraiz-e-Irthazia,, Nuqud-ul-Hisab, Sharh Qasida-e-Burdah* etc., were prescribed as text-books in the Arabic madrasas of those days in Carnatic.

Muhammad Qudratullah Khan Qudrat, another scholar from Gopamau came down to Madras in 1227 A.H. : 1812 A.D. and settled down here. He was one year younger to Qazi Irtiza Ali Khan Khushnood. He was also a great scholar in Persian and he was one of the judges appointed for *Mushaara-i-Azam*. He has left a well known work *Nataij-ul-Afkar* which was published during his lifetime. It contains the biographical sketches of the Persian poets that lived in Carnatic and other places.

Among Agah's students Nawab Ghulam Azzuddin Khan Mustaqeem Jung Bahadur Nami, Hakeem Baqir Hussain Khan Raiq, Arifuddeen Khan Rawnaq, Moulvi Sayyid Khairuddin Faiq, Ghulam Mohyuddin Mujiz and Muhammad Aslam Khan Shayan earned great fame and reputation for themselves. All of them were poets of note. Nami has left several works like *Maikhana-i-Kaifiyat* in Persian and *Naw Bahar-i-Ishq*, *Baharistan-i-Ishq*, *Gunj-i-Qudrat* etc. in Urdu of which some have been published by the Madras University. Raiq's outstanding work is *Guldasta-i-Carnatic* which contains the biographical sketches, with critical notes, of the Carnatic poets. Rawnaq and Faiq also were great scholars and they have left several works in Persian and Urdu. Ghulam Mohyuddin Mujiz was considered next to Agah in Persian scholarship. He has left two Diwans in Persian and his son Ghulam Abdul Qadir Nazir has left a work *Bahar-i-Azamjahi* which was translated into English by Dr. M. H. Nainar and published by the University of Madras. Mujiz died in 1229 A.H. : 1813 A.D.

Muhammad Aslam Khan Shayan, son of Ali Ahmad Khan Nayati, was born at Arcot and studied for sometime under his father and Muhammad Raza. Then he came down to Madras and studied Arabic and Persian literatures and the sciences under Sayyid Shah Abdul Qadir Mehrban Fakhri, Maulana Mohammad Baqir Agah and Moulvi Muhammad Ghouse Sharaful Mulk Bahadur. He was employed as a Chief Writer in the service of Nawab Ameerul Umara Bahadur and after whose demise he continued to serve in various positions until his death in 1234 A.H. : 1818 A.D. He compiled several works in Persian such as *Waqa-i-Haidari*, *Ain-ul-Masadir*, *Masail-al-Talim*, *Sharh-i-Minhaj*, *Guldasta-i-Managib*, *Zafar Namah*, *Gudaz-i-Dil* etc. The last two works were *Mathnawis*. He had also compiled a diwan consisting of his lyrical poems and odes in Persian. He died in 1234 A.H. : 1818 A.D.

Burhanuddin Khan Handi was a contemporary of Nami. He was born at Nathar Nagar (Tiruchirapalli) and studied Persian under Ghulam Hussain Jawdat who was known as *Shahr Ustad* (City Teacher). He was the Chief Writer to Husam-al-Mulk Bahadur, son of Nawab Muhammad Ali Khan Walajah Bahadur, and at the instance

of his master he compiled *Tuzak-i-Walajahi* which is the main source for the history of the Nawabs of Carnatic. He also wrote a few treatises in Persian on rhetoric and other subjects. Handi died in 1240 A.H. : 1824 A.D.

Malikul Ulama Moulana Alauddin Ahmed was the son of Moulvi Anwarul Haque and son-in-law of Moulana Bahrul Uloom Abdul Ali. He was appointed Principal of *Madrasa-i-Kalan* at Madras after the death of his father-in-law. His outstanding work in Persian is *Sharh-i-Fusool-i-Akbari* on Arabic etymology which continued to serve as a text-book in the Arabic madrasas of South India. He also wrote a commentary in Persian on Mir Zahid's work on Logic. He died in 1242 A.H. : 1825 A.D. and is buried by the side of his father-in-law's grave at Madras.

Moulana Muhammad Sayeed Aslami hailed from Madras. He studied Arabic and Persian under Mulla Bahrul Uloom Abdul Ali and other teachers. He was known to the people by his title *Siraj-al-Ulama* (Light of the Learned). He was deputed to Mecca by Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajah where he lived for a number of years. There he translated into Arabic *Tuhfa-i-Ithna Ashariyya,* the wellknown Persian work of Shah Abdul Azeez of Delhi. Aslami returned to Madras and settled down at Sayeed Abad, Madras. He wrote a commentary of the *Quran* in Persian, some parts of which were published in Madras during his life time. He also compiled a voluminous book, *Safeenat-ul-Najat fi Tufan-at-Muhlikat,* in Persian about scholasticism and theology. He wrote a short treatise on Arabic etymology known as *Awraq-al-Sarf.* Aslami died in Sayeed Abad, Madras in 1272 A.H. : 1855 A.D.

Zawqi's grandson, Syed Shah Abdul Lateef of Vellore, was a contemporary of Aslami. He studied under Allauddin Ahmed, the son-in-law-of Mullah Bahrul Uloom, and other teachers at Madras. He has left several works in Persian such as *Ihya-ul-Sunnah, Ihya-ul-Tauheed, Tambeehul-Ghafileen, Sirat-al-Mumineen, Aslul-Uloom, Fatawa, Maktubat-i-Lateefi, Jawahir-al-Haqaiq, Fasl-al-Khitab, Jawahir-al-Suluk, Ghayat-al-Tahqeeq* etc., He died at Madina while on a pilgrimage in 1289 A.H. : 1871 A.D.

Moulana Mohammad Ghouse Sharaf-al-Mulk Bahadur was born at Arcot and studied for some time under his father Nasiruddin Muhammad and grandfather Nizamuddin Ahmed. He then went to Ramnad to study under Moulvi Aminuddin Ahmad Khan Bahadur and after his death in 1195 A.H. : 1780 A.D. came to Madras and studied under Moulana Bahrul-Uloom Abdul Ali. He later became the Diwan of Nawab Azeemuddaula Bahadur, son of Nawab Ameerul

Umara Bahadur, who succeeded his uncle in 1216 A.H. : 1800 A.D. He wrote *Al-Nathr-al-Marjan Fi Rasm-i-Nazm-al- Quran, Kifayat-al-Mubtadi, Al Fawaid-Sibghiyya, Sawati-al-Anwar, Al-Naim-al-Waqqad, Al Shafi* and many other works in Arabic and *Al-Anhar-Al-Mafakhir, Khawassul Haiwan, Basaim-al-Azhar, Hidayat-al-Ghavi, Burhan-al-Hikmah* (Persian translation of *Hidayat-al-Hikma*) *Yawaqit-al-Manthura, Khulasat-al-Bayan, Rashhat-al-Ejaz, Siham-al-Nafira* and others in Persian. He died in 1238 A.H. : 1822 A.D.

Of his sons two became great scholars and authors in Arabic and Persian. One was Moulvi Abdul Wahhab Madar-al-Umara Bahadur and the other was Imam-al-Ulama Qaziul Mulk, Qaziul Islam Moulvi Muhammad Sibghatullah, better known as Qazi Badruddaula Bahadur. Both studied Arabic and Persian under their father and Malikul-Ulama Moulana Alauddin Ahmed. Moulvi Abdul Wahhab compiled works in Arabic and Persian : *Kashif-al-Ahwal fi Naqd-al-Rijal, Akmalul Wasail fi Rijal-al-Shamail, Al Kawkab al-Durriyya fi Intikhab Majalis-al-Dainuriyya* (all the three in Arabic), *Hibat al-Wahhab fil Fiqh, Nihayat-al-Sul fi Manaqib Raihanat-al-Rasool, Kashiful-Rumuzat ilal Waraqat* (Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence – all in Persian). He also visited Arabia maintaining a diary of his engagements and observations which was later published under the name of *Roznamcha.*

His brother Qazi Badruddaula devoted more of his attention for popularising Urdu instead of Arabic and Persian. His work *Fawaid-e-Badria* in Urdu about the life of the prophet became very popular in South India and it used to be read in parts to the people, in the first twelve days of Rabi I. Nevertheless he also wrote several works in Persian like *Dastan-i-Gham,* (Life of Imam Hussain) and *Thuhfa-i-Azamia, Tambih-al-Aghbiya fi Hayat-al-Anbiya* etc. He was born in 1211 A.H. : 1785 A.D. and died in 1280 A.H. : 1862 A.D.

Shaikh Muhammad Mahdi Wasif, son of Arifuddin Khan Rawnaq, was a great poet and scholar. His father Rawnaq was a student and desciple of Maulana Baqir Agah. Wasif studied under his father and also under Qazi Badruddaula and his elder brother Moulvi Abdul Wahhab. He was born in Madras in 1217 A.H. : 1801 A.D. Besides many short treatises on different subjects like *Imla Namah-i-Wasifi, Ruqaat-i-Wasifi, Gulzar-i-Ajam* and *Hikayat-i-Dilpasand,* he wrote two wellknown books in Persian, *Madan-al-Jawahir* and *Daleel-ush Shuara,* which have made him an outstanding figure in the Arabic and Persian literature in South India. The date of his death is not known, but he lived upto 1280 A.H. : 1862 A.D. It seems he was not on good terms with some of his contemporaries especially with Abu Sayeed

Wala and his son Hameeduddin Wila. Both of them had great influence upon Nawab Muhammad Ghouse Khan Bahadur, Walajah the Fifth. The said Abu Sayeed Wala was a great poet and he attracted the attention of the learned and educated men in poetical assemblies. He rose to great eminence during the time of the said Nawab. It is believed that the two famous works in Persian *Tazkira-e-Subh-i-Watan* and *Tazkira-e-Gulzar-e-Azam*, ascribed to the said Nawab, were actually written by Abu Sayeed Wala. Wala has left a few works in Persian poetry of which a short *Mathnawi* known as *Bahr-a-Gham* (Ocean of Sorrow) is still available.

Nawab Muhammad Ghouse Khan Bahadur Azam was the son of Nawab Azam Jah Bahadur and grandson of Nawab Azeemuddaula Bahadur. He was born in 1239 A.H. : 1823 A.D. He ascended the throne when he was only fifteen months old. He studied under Moulvi Jamaluddin Ahmad. He then became a student of Abu Sayeed Wala and presented his poetical compositions to him for correction. He was a genious like Tajul Umara Ali Hussain Khan Bahadur, son of Nawwab Umdat-al-Umara Bahadur. He himself was a great poet and had gathered around him many scholars and poets and in 1262 A.H. : 1845 A.D. he started a poetical assembly, *Mushaara-i-Azam*, under the presidentship of Afzalush Shuara Moulvi Muhammad Hussain Shireen Sukhan Khan Raqim. This assembly consisted of distinguished poets, who were able to give fitting replies to the objections raised by any member of the audience. After four years in 1266 A.H. : 1849 A.D. the said Nawab established *Madrasa-i-Azam*, which is now running as one of the important high schools at Madras. He published his two *tazkirahs*, *Subh-i-Watan* and *Gulzar-i-Azam*, mentioned above, in 1257 A.H. : 1842 A.D. and 1269 A.H. : 1853 A.D. respectively. He has also left a *Diwan* in Persian, *Baharistan-i-Azam*. He died in the year 1272 A.H. : 1855 A.D. at the age of 33.

Raqim was held in high esteem by his contemporaries an account of his profound learning and knowledge of Persian literature. He belonged to the distinguished family of the great saint Moulvi Muhammad Hussain Shaheed (martyred), known as Imam Saheb, of Bidar in Hyderabad State. Raqim's grandfather and father Shah Ahmed Abu Turab Qadri and Shah Najmuddin Hasan Qadri were great scholars who settled down at Madras. Raqim was born here in 1233 A.H. : 1817 A.D. and studied Arabic under Qazi Badruddaula and Qazi Irtiza Ali Khan. He studied Persian under his two paternal uncles Shaiq Ali Khan Shaiq and Shah Meeran Mohyuddin Waqif Qadri and later he became the student of Sayyid Abu Sayeed Wala, who at his old age had entrusted his students to him for carrying out corrections of their lyrical poems. Nawwab Mohammad Ghouse Khan Bahadur appointed

him President of his Poetical Assembly and awarded him the title of *Afzalush Shuara* (the Best among the Poets). He held this position until the death of the said Nawwab. He compiled several works in Persian including *Mizan-al-Ashaar*, *Azam-al-sanaah*, *Bahrul Masadir* etc. He translated in Persian the early twenty *Maqamas* of *Maqamat-i-Hariri*, but stopped it when he received a printed copy of its entire translation from Calcutta.

Another great scholar of this period was Moulvi Syed Muhammad Hussin Tamanna. His forefathers belonged to Bijapur. His father settled down at Arcot and then shifted to Tirupattur where Tamanna was born in 1213 A.H. : 1797 A.D. He was only ten years old when his father Syed Imam died. He then went to Chittoor where he studied Persian under Mir Hussian Ali Kirmani. After few years, he came to Madras, and studied Arabic under Qazi Irtiza Ali Khan and Persian under Muhammad Habeebullah and Burhanuddin Khan Handi. In 1260 A.H. : 1853 A.D. he was appointed a Writer to the Nawab and compiled a voluminous book *Qasr-i-Walajahi* narrating the history of the Carnatic. In 1269 A.H. : 1853 A.D. he was made the Persian teacher in Madrasa-i-Azam, Madras. He has left several works such as *Badee-us-Sarf, Badee-ul-Insha, Zakheerat-ul-Uqba* etc. He also wrote a commentary on *Bostan of Saadi* which was named *Andaleeb-i-Bostan.*

Moulvi Tajuddin Bahjat son of Ghayasuddin was also a great scholar in Arabic and Persian during the time of the said Nawwab. He wrote in 1247 A.H. : 1832 A.D., a commentary on *Gulistan of Saadi* which he named *Chamanistan*. He also tried to imitate the fluent and easy style of *Gulistan* and compiled a book in Persian known as *Nakhlistan* which will be taken up for publication by the University of Madras. He died in 1280 A.H. : 1863 A.D.

him President of his Poetical Assembly and awarded him the title of *Afsahush Shuara* (the Best among the Poets). He held this position until the death of the said Nawwab. He compiled several works in Persian including *Diwan-ul-Ashaar*, [illegible] etc. He translated in Persian the early twenty *Maqamaat* of *Maqamaat-ul-Hariri*, but stopped it when he received a printed copy of its entire translation from Calcutta.

Another great scholar of this period was Moulvi Syed Muhammad Husain Ammara. His forefathers belonged to Bijapur. His father settled down at Arcot and then shifted to Tiruppatur where Ammara was born in 1213 A.H.: 1797 A.D. He was only ten years old when his father Syed Imam died. He then went to Chittoor where he studied Persian under Mir Hussain Ali Kirmani. After a few years, he came to Madras and studied Arabic under Qazi Irtiza Ali Khan and Persian under Muhammad Habeebullah and Burhanuddin Khan Hamid. In 1260 A.H.: 1843 A.D. he was appointed a Writer to the Nawab and compiled a voluminous book [illegible] narrating the history of the Carnatic. In 1269 A.H.: 1853 A.D. he was made the Persian teacher in Madrasa-i-Azam, Madras. He has left several works such as *Badee-us-Sanai*, [illegible], *Zakheerat-ul-[illegible]*, etc. He also wrote a commentary on *Bostan of Saadi* which was named *Andaleeb-i-Bostan*.

Moulvi Tajuddin Behjat son of Ghayasuddin was also a great scholar in Arabic and Persian during the time of the said Nawwab. He wrote in 1247 A.H.: 1832 A.D. a commentary on *Gulistan of Saadi* which he named [illegible]. He also tried to imitate the fluent and easy style of Gulistan and compiled a book in Persian known as [illegible] which will be taken up for publication by the University of Madras. He died in 1280 A.H.: 1863 A.D.

INTRODUCING SOME NEWLY-DISCOVERED PERSIAN WORKS OF A PANJABI POET SAYYAD BABA HASHAM SHAH

By

Professor Harnam Singh Shan, Chandigarh

بندگی مزار هاشم . بنده باش .

بندگی روح است . با او زنده باش .

(از مثنوی هاشم)

This is how Sayyed Baba Hasham Shah has summed up one of his finest and newly discovered writings. Hasham Shah had been a very prominent name in the annals of Panjabi letters. He is still considered as one of the most famous and popular poets of the Land of the Five Rivers. His contemporary, Maulvi Ahmedyar (1768-1845), the celebrated author of the *Shahnamah Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, has spoken very highly about him and his masterpiece in his *Yusuf Zulaikha*,[1] dated 1842 A.D.

One of his eminent successors, Mian Mohd. Bakhsh, (1829-1906), has also paid very high tributes to his genious, greatness and contribution to the language, literature and culture of the Panjab in the following strains, in his highly popular book, '*Saif-ul-Malvk*[2] (dated 1862 A.D.).

هاشم شاه دی هشمت برکت . گنتروچ نه آوے

در یتیم جواهر اڑیاں . بمایرکڈھ لیاوے .

اوه بهی ملك سخن دے اندر . راجه سی سر کرده .

جس قصے دی چڑھے مہمے . سوئیو سی سر کرده

(از سیف الملوك)

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1. *cf. Qissa Ahsan-ul-Qissas*, Haji Chragh Din Seraj Din Edn., Lahore, 1918, p. 224.
2. *cf. Saif-ul-Maluk va Badi-ul-Jamal*, Malik Din Mohd. Edn., Lahore, pp. 21 & 369.

The learned Dr. G. W. Leitner in his monumental History[1] has mentioned him as "the famous Mathematician and Arabic Scholar who wrote numerous novelettes in Panjabi, which are still much read." He got a jagir near Jagdeo in recognition of his literary eminence. His 'Shirin Farhad' in Panjabi, his story of 'Sassi Punun' and of 'Sohni Mehinwal' still form the delight of thousands. He has also been mentioned in high terms by some great linguists and eminent European scholars like George Grierson[2], Thomas Thornton and Richard Temple[4]. The latter published the Roman transcription[5] and English translation of his masterpiece (in Panjabi), i.e. *Qissa Punun,* in the early eighties of the last century.

But as illuck would have it, his life and work have till now been shrouded in great mystery.[6] He has become, so to say, a subject of mis-statements and misunderstandings at the hands of our *Tazkiras* and histories of literature. So much so my present enquiry (based on a thorough probe into the original sources, personal visits to the places connected with him, conversation and correspondence with his descendents in Pakistan and a peep through some family manuscripts of his published and unpublished works) has revealed that most of the details hitherto given about his life and work are wrong and misleading.

Hasham belonged to the Quresh dynasty of Arabia. He was the eldest son of Haji Mohd. Sharif; not of Qasim Shah who has so far been mentioned[7] as his father but was, actually, his youngest brother. In his *Chhar Bahar,* Hasham himself mentioned him as under:

این فقیر احقر الزمان محمد هاشم ولد حاجی محمد شریف میگوید

Moreover, the lettering still extent on his (father's) grave in Jagdeo Kalan village (Amritsar Dist.), has also supported this finding.

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1. *cf. History of the Indigenous Education in the Panjab since Annexation and in 1882,* Calcutta, 1882.
2. *cf. The Linguistic Survey of India,* Vol. 9, Pt.I, 1916, p.618.
3. *cf. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Vol.17, London pp. 373-414.
4. *cf. Indian Antiquary,* Bombay, December 1881, and October 1882.
5. *cf. The Roman Urdu Journal,* Vol. IV, No.38-40, 1881.
6. *cf. The Legends of the Punjab,* Vol. III, Bombay, 1886, pp. 24-37
7. *cf. Chushma-e-Hayat,* Lahore, 1913, by M. Moula Baksh Kushta, and *Bombiah Boul,* Lahore, 1925, by B. Budh Singh etc.

Seven different dates of birth (1752, 1755, 1780, 1800 etc.) have so far been attributed to him in the books and histories of Panjabi literature. [1] But a peep through the ancestral roll and family-tree has revealed that he was actually born on the 22nd Rajab, 1148 A.H. (i.e. 27th Nov. 1735 A.D.). As regards his place of birth, it was not Jagdeo [2] (Amritsar) but the holy city of Madina, as is evident from his son's memoir.

Hasham moved to Amristar with his parents while he was a child of four. His father settled at Jagdeo (Amritsar Dist.) in order to preach Islam and to serve the mankind in the country-side. Even after his demise, Hasham stuck to this very place. His *Takia* (abode), *Attari* (residence) and land still exist.

It is equally wrong to say that he was an illiterate or only a semi-literate person. [3] On the basis of his works, now brought to light for the first time, and other internal and external evidence obtained by me, it can confidently be asserted that he was really a learned person who not only knew Arabic, Persian, Hindi, Urdu and Panjabi, but also wrote in almost all of them, with grace and effect. Besides, he is also said to have possessed some knowledge of astrology and the indigenous system of medicine. The very first stanza of his Panjabi masterpiece bears testimony to his knowledge and learning in the Oriental lore:

حکمت اوس خداوند والی ۔ مالك ملك ملك را ۔

لاکھ کروڑ کرن چترایاں ۔ کوئی پچھان نہ سکدا ۔

قدرت نال رہے سرگرداں ۔ دائم چرخ فلك را ۔

ھاشم خوب ہوئی گل کاری ۔ فرش فناہ خلق را ۔

(از سسی پنوں)

The discovery of his Persian and Urdu works has also provided an appropriate reply to Dr. Lajwanti's observation, made in 1938— "who was Hasham's Pir, is not known." [4] As it is now clear from dozens

1. *cf. History of Panjabi Literature*, by Dr. Mohan Singh, Lahore, 1933, p. 146; *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Lahore, 1923.
2. *cf. Punjabi Sahitya Da Itihas* by Dr. Surindra Singh Kohli, p. 403, and by Prof. Surinder Singh Narula, p. 231.
3. *cf. Hasham Bare* by Prof. Pritam Singh, Amritsar, 1952, p. 36; the *Pritam*, by Sardar Shamsher Singh Ashok, Delhi, 1955, p. 8.
4. *cf. Panjabi Sufi Poets*, Calcutta, 1938, p. 92.

of his *Madahja* and *Munajat*, he was none other than Hazrat Gulam Qadar Jilani, the founder of Qadris, who is said to have lived during 1078-1166 A.D. Hasham invokes his help and blessings time and again in the following strain :

١ دستگیری کیجیو ۔ ڈر تا ھے ھاشم پر گناہ ۔
دستگیر بے کساں ۔ یا غوث اعظم دستگیر ۔

٢ خدارا پیر محی الدین ۔ نظر انداز لاچارم ۔
به دست نفس بدکردار ۔ مظلومم گرانبارم ۔

A good number of other Muslim Panjabi poets, S. Fazal Shah, M. Mohd. Din and Mian Moula Shah Majithwi, to name only a few of Hasham's successors, have also expressed somewhat similar sentiments for this great Divine. [1]

Hasham married only once, not thrice as alleged by Mian Maula Bakhsh Kushta. [2] He had two sons, Ahmed Shah and Mohd. Shah. The former died at the age of 17 and the latter (1796-1862) survived him. His descendents are at present residing in the Lyalpur and Sialkot Districts of the West Pakistan.

Hasham was neither a carpenter nor a court-poet as has so far been held almost unanimously. [3] He was first and foremost a Sufi saint. He has mentioned himself as such. The Land Revenue Records also support this fact. [4] Besides, he was a Hakim of the first water and many anecdotes about his medical skill are still current in the place of residence. Hasham does not appear to have written any line in praise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the monarch of his time (or any of his chiefs), who is said to have allotted a Jagir to him or his *Taqia*. This allotment, as is evident from the old Bandobast, Jamabandis and Muntkhibs, etc., seems to have been in view, primarily, of his sainthood. Class No. 4 of the Bandobast dated 1865 reads as under :

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1. *cf. Hir Fazalshah*, p. 4 ; *Gulzar-e-Ishak*, p. 5 ; *Hir Majithwi*, p. 3 Lahore Editions.
2. *cf. Panjab De Heere*, Amritsar, 1932, p. 105.
3. *cf. Panjabi Sahitya da Itihas* by Dr. Gopal Singh, p. 272 ; *Panjabi Zaban da Adab te tarikh* by Abdul Gafoor Qureshi, Lahore, p. 259.
4. *cf. Bandobast Aval*, Dist. Sialkot, 1855. ; *Muntkhib*, *Babat* v. Jagdev Kalan, Tehsil Ajnala, dt. 1852; *Misal Haqiqat* ....,1891-92 & 1938-39.

عہد سکھوں میں یہ گاؤں بنام ہاشم شاہ

مورث اعلےٰ قوم فقیر کی جاگیر رہا۔

There are as much as 12 different dates of his death (*e.g.* 1820, 1821, 1823, 1850 etc.) recorded in our *Tazkiras* and histories of literature. But as is quite clear from the family record, Hasham died on 26 Ramazan, 1259 A.H. (21st Oct. 1843) at Jagdev Kalan (Dist. Amritsar) and was buried the next day at Tharpal (Dist. Sialkot), according to his own wishes. He was about 111 years old, (not 64, 70, 72, 74, or 78 etc. as hitherto alleged) at the time of his demise.

Hasham appears to have been a prolific and multilingual writer. He has written not only in Panjabi (because of which he has carved for himself an imperishable place in the hearts of the Panjabis) but also in Persian, Urdu and Hindi. The number of his works runs into nineteen out of which the following five are in Persian alone.

1. *GANJ-E-MUANI* (*FAQARNAMAH*) I first came to know of it on 10th March 1956, from a letter of the poet's great great grandson. In his latest letter, dated 22nd June 1958, he has written to say that this work is in Persian interpersed with Arabic quotations. For instance, one of his pages reads as under:

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم۔ الحمدللہ رب العالمین و العاقبۃ للمتقین و الصلواۃ و السلام علی رسولہ محمد و آلہ واصحابہ اجمعین۔ بدانکہ پیغمبر علیہ السلام فرمودہ است کہ فقر از گنج نہاد خدائے تعالی است۔ سوال: اگر ترا پرسند کہ اول فقر چیست وآخر فقر چیست وکمر بند فقیر چیست و تسمہ فقیر و تاج فقر چیست و خانہ فقر چیست و جامہ فقر چیست و دین فقر چیست و مرگ فقر چیست و گنج فقر چیست و ایمان فقر چیست و سنت فقر چیست و فرض فقر چیست وکلید فقر چیست؟

جواب: بگو کہ اول فقر فناہ است و تخرج الحی من المیت و تخرج المیت من الحی۔ وآخر فقر بقا است و کمر بند فقر خدمت

1. *cf. Hasham Shah de kissa Sassi Punu* by Prof. S. S. Amol, Ludhiana, 1955, p. 26; *Panjab ke Rooman*, by Dr. A. S. Khurshid, Lahore, p.

مرشد است . ولقمه فقر صبر است و تاج فقر توکل است .
فتوکل علی الله ان الله یحب المتوکلین و خانه فقر قناعت است
و جامه فقر ستاری است و دین فقر بیداری است و برگ فقر
سکونت است . گنج فقر مشقت است و کلید فقر ارادت است .
(از گنج معانی یعنی فقر نامه)

As a matter of fact, I have no words to express my appreciation for the maturity of thought, richness of content and pithiness of the style of the writer of these lines. This alone is more than enough for those who have so far been brandishing Hasham as an illiterate carpenter.

2. *CHAHAR BAHAR HASHAM*: This ms. has also been transcribed probably from the original, by the poet's own son, Mohd. Shah. It was composed, according to the following note by Hasham himself, in 1209 A.H. (1794 A.D.).

هزار و دو صد و نه سال می بود .
چو هاشم این روش اظهار بنمود .

This is, by the way, the only work of the poet which contains such a note indicating the date of composition. The first sixteen pages have been devoted to the praise of God, the Prophet, Ghaus-ul-Azam, Pir Naushah Ganj Bakhsh and the poet's father. The dialogue between Hazrat Naushah Ganj and Pir Mohd. Sochiar forms the body of the book. One of its Madahjat, written as a tribute to Haji Mohd. Sharif begins as under:

در مدح حضرت حاجی الحرمین محمد شریف صاحب

بیارے سبزور بدکان عشق .
زمن بشنوی حرف فرمان عشق .
بگیرا ے بتبجیل داماں عشق .
به بین این سخن رابدیوان عشق .
قلم زن نوشته با اول ردیف .
بخوان نام حاجی محمد شریف .

The poet's name is mentioned in the last stanza which runs as under :

فن فقر هاشم تو داننده باش .
ره پارسایاں شناسنده باش .

شب و روز ایں نام خواننده باش .
قل و فاتحش هم رساننده باش .

دریں راه سوئے صادق هم شریف .
بخواں نام حاجی محمد شریف .
(از چهار بهار هاشم شاه)

3. *MASNAVI HASHAM* : According to the present custodian of this manuscript, this work deals with Tasawwuf, Towhid, Risalat and Din-e-Mohammadi etc. For example, while eulogising the omnipotence and omnipresence of God, the poet says :

فرض بر انساں ثناء ذو الجلال .
آنکه هست او بے مثال و بے زوال .

بے نمون و بے چگون و بے نشان .
بے گمان و بے زبان و بے مکان .

بود او چوں بود . دیگر کس نبود .
بود او ایں بود . ما پیدا نمود .

نام خود نگرفته بود . ایں چیز کس .
زیر و بالا . راس وچپ هم پیش و پس .

While determining the aim of human life, Hasham is quite clear when he says in the strain of Bhai Nand Lal, an excellent Persian poet of Guru Govind Singh's Court, that

روشنی دو جہاں در بندگی ست .
کامیاب و بہره ور آن زندگی ست .

بنده را بے بندگی بنده مدان .
زندگی بے او کجا زنده مداں .

بندگی مگزار هاشم بنده باش .
بندگی روح است با اوزنده باش .

(از مثنوی هاشم شاه)

4. *DEVAN-E-HASHAM* : It is a fine collection of some *Ghazals* which interpret Hasham's Sufistic thought in various patterns of this popular form. In one of them he explains the ins and outs of garz (motive) thus:

ضارب و مضروب کے بودے نبودے گر غرض .
از یکے صد رنگ بنماید همین کافر غرض .

کار آگاهاں شوند اندر غرض از دیده کور .
مایه شب را به پند شاه ....

والدین و اقربا وخویش واخواں هیچ نیست .
آدمی را از خدا وز دین بود بهتر غرض .

گرچه بودن بے غرض بس مشکل است اے دل ولے
جز خدا کس را مگو پیشش بکن اظهر غرض .

جامع جمله غرض گر باتو گردد مهرباں .
جز خدا هرگز مخواه . اے از خدا دیگر غرض .

اختیارت نیست هاشم دانش و بے دانشی .
چوں ترا موتت کشد . کی می روی بر سر غرض
(از دیوان هاشم شاه)

5. *MADEN-E-FAIZ*: It consists of 84 pages and is a collection of some *Madahjat* and *Munajat* in the praise of the poet's Pir, Hazrat Ghulam Qadir Jilani. They are written in Persian, Urdu and Panjabi. I have been able to procure specimens of seven such compositions in Persian. The depth of the sentiment, the variety of their patterns and the rythm and tone herein are noteworthy. They begin and end as under:

1
بر در شاہ عجم ۔ ھردم دلا فریاد کن ۔
کین غم دنیا و عقبی بر دورنم شاد کن ۔

بر دلت کوہ غم دنیا است ھاشم بہراو ۔
گریۂ یعقوب دار و محنت فرھاد کن ۔

2
یامحی الدین کشائش بر بینوابہ بخشش ۔
از درگہت کہ خواھم ۔ با این گدابہ بخشش ۔

اے بادشاہ شاھاں ۔ از لطف خود بہاشم ۔
در دوجہاں وظیفہ ۔ نامت شہا ببخشش ۔

3 Mixed
یا پیر غوث اعظم ۔ یا شاہ نامور ۔
اے آفتاب جیلاں ۔ بغداد کے قمر

دادندہ و کنندہ و دانندہ علم غیب ۔
احوال ھر دلاں تو اسرار بحروبر ۔

4 End
رجا ز لطف تو دارم کہ نام محی الدین ۔
بوقت نزع مرا باد بر زبان آری ۔

بحق صاحب بغداد و غوث اعظم پیر ۔
گناہ و غفلت ھاشم ز ذرہ نشماری ۔

5 Begins شه شاهاں شه غوثاں ۔ شه اقطاب محی الدین
شه دنیا ۔ شه عقبی ۔ زهے محبوب سبحانی ۔

6 اگر نه عفو شئے جرم وهم خطا بودے ۔
قیاس کن که درین جائی ما کجا بودے ۔
شرف تمام تو بخشید غوث اعظم پیر ۔
وگرنه هاشم پیوسته دربلا بودے ۔

7 زبان و چشم وگوش و قلب و دست و پاهمه جستم
پر از خبث و حرام است ۔ این دغا بازم گنه گارم
غم از طوفان مکن هاشم تودر کشتی جیلانی ۔
بخاطر جمع خود بنشین ۔ چه شد گرمن زیانکارم ۔

This composition has proved very useful in another respect too. It has thrown sufficient new, authentic and much-needed light about the poet and his son. It contains on p. 40, information about the date and place of birth, residence, death and burial of the poet Hasham. P. 39 gives some more information about his son, Mohd. Shah, his date and place of birth, parentage, profession etc. Moreover, it is a dated ms. It was transcribed by the poet's own son on 5th of Phagan, 1875 Bik. (1818 A.D.), *i.e.* during the life-time of the poet himself while he was still in his eighties. It has, as a matter of fact, helped me a lot in dispelling many mistatements and misunderstandings, so far prevalent about Hasham.

All these works are still lying unprobed and unpublished. They are, at present, in possession of Hazrat Moulvi Ghulam Qadir, great-grandson of the poet (at V. Tharpal, Teh. Narwal, of Dist. Sialkot) and Syed Ghulam Nabi Shah, the great-grandson of Hasham (at Wassan Pura, Rajput Road, Lahore).



